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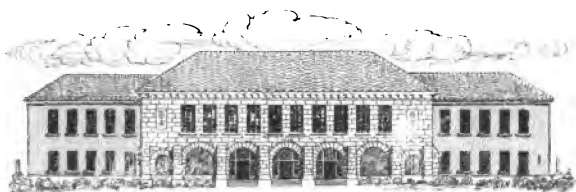


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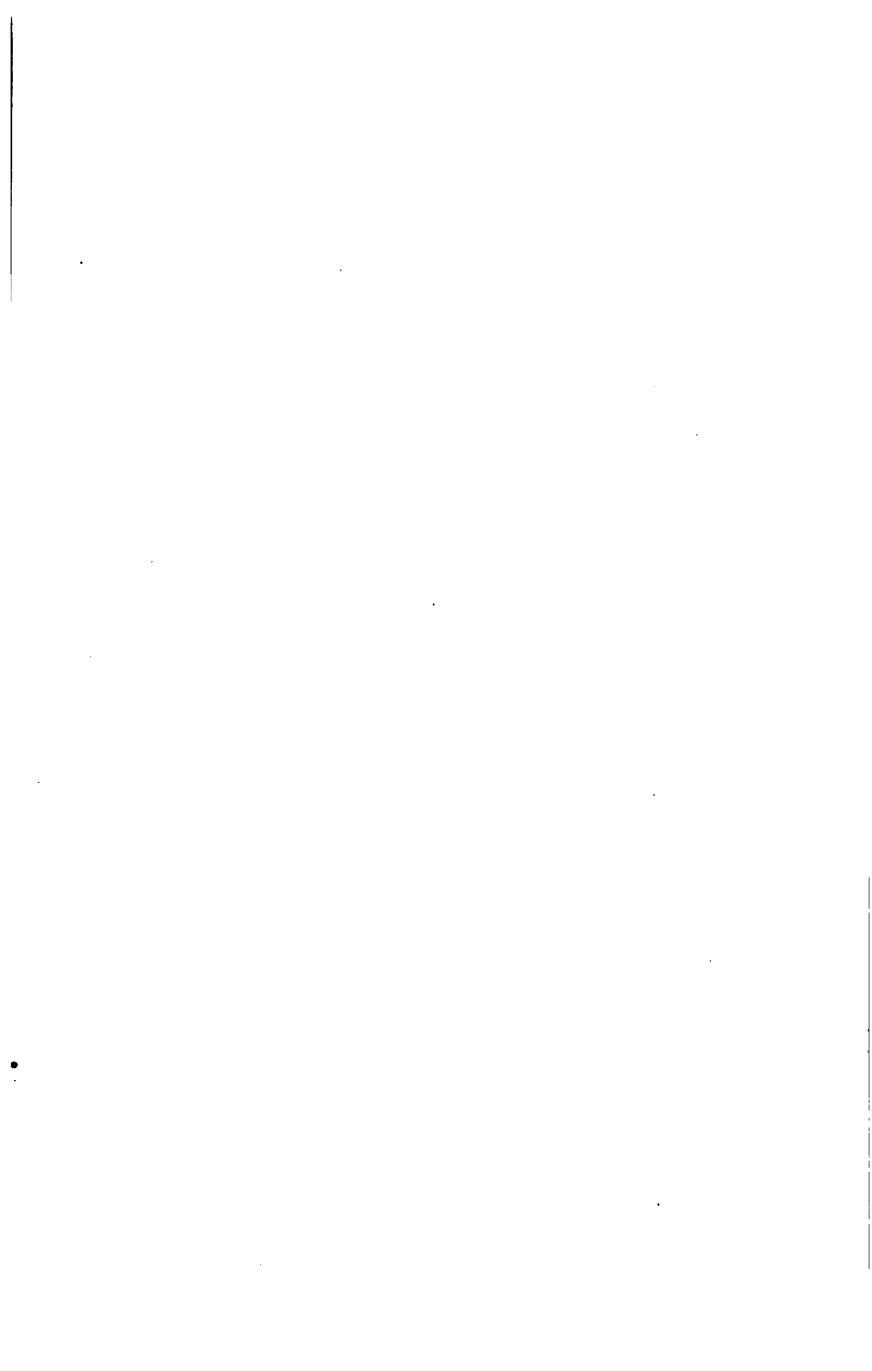


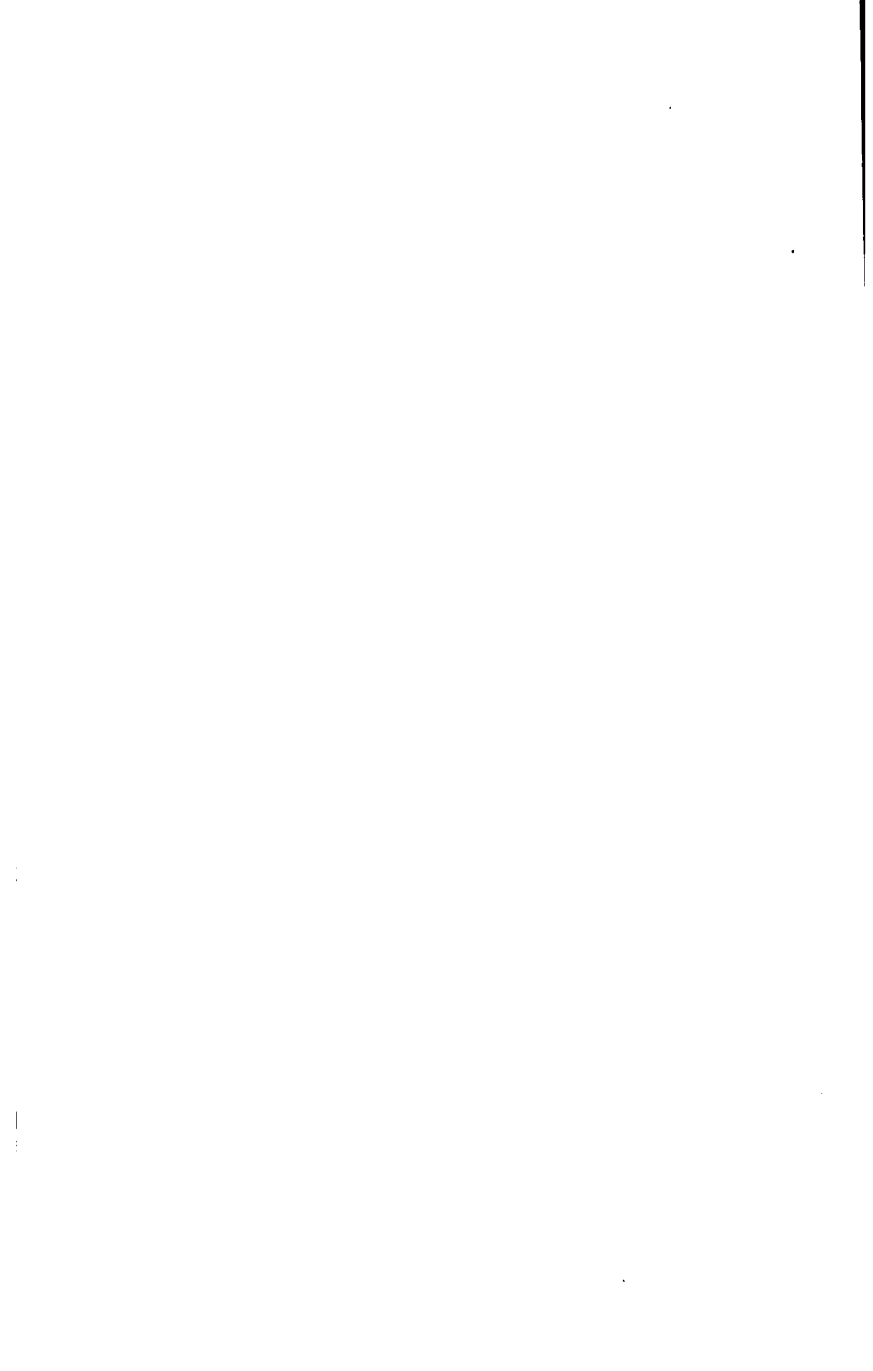
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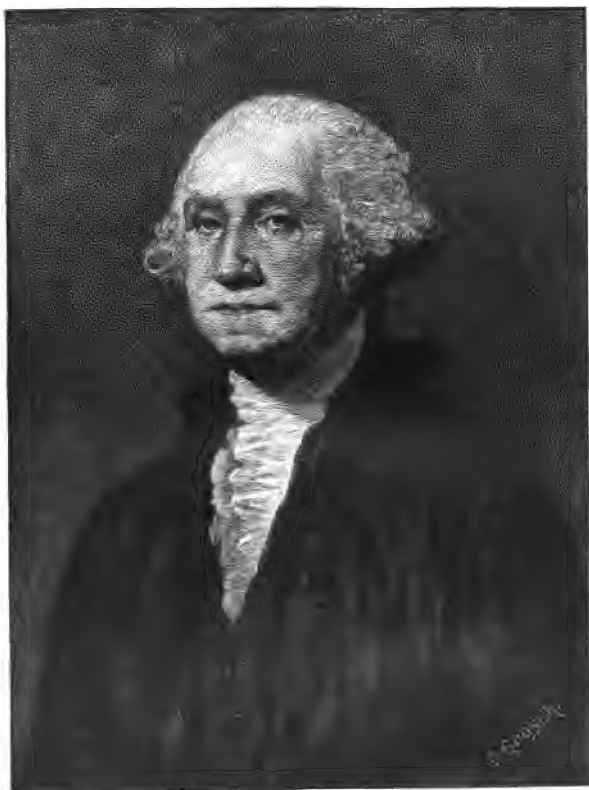
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GEORGE WASHINGTON.

HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY

A TEXT-BOOK FOR SCHOOLS

BY

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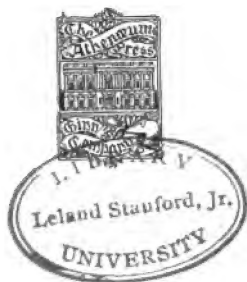
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PREFACE.

THIS "History of Our Country" has been prepared in the belief that there is need of a text-book on the history of the United States which would present fairly and impartially all sections of the Union. The authors have endeavored to divest the narrative of all bias for or against the North or the South, the East or the West. The strife for sectional or partisan supremacy has often transcended the bounds of true patriotism, but it is believed that such strife has been inevitable, and that in the long run it has made our country stronger and richer in the nobler elements of national life. Love of country is greater than the love of party, and loyalty to the state is a permanent and indestructible element in loyalty to the nation. Our country is "an indestructible union of indestructible states." Our history should be so taught that the next generation will cherish the patriotism which conserves the rights of the states, and honor the patriotism which guards the supremacy of the Federal Union. If this book shall prove to be helpful to the great army of earnest and faithful teachers in making the story of our country's life, growth, and progress more real and interesting to their pupils, the hope of the authors will be amply fulfilled.

OSCAR H. COOPER.

GALVESTON, TEXAS, April 25, 1895.

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SUGGESTIONS TO THE TEACHER.

In each lesson, the story of the text should in some way be connected with the every-day life and experience of the pupil. The outline and most of the events of our country's history may be readily grasped by minds of moderate maturity and experience; but in the life of an enlightened people like our own, there are necessarily subjects whose thorough comprehension requires considerable information and mental development. The wise teacher will note the intellectual strength of his class in relation to the deep places of the subject. Local surroundings, peculiarities of individual pupils will suggest plans to connect the known with the unknown, the present with the past, the near-at-hand with the far-away. An event or question beyond the mental horizon of an immature class should be touched upon lightly, or deferred for later study.

Each historical event should be associated in the learner's mind with other events. Isolated facts are soon forgotten. In the beginning of each recitation, call up the past events with which the lesson of the day is directly connected. Certain pupils may be appointed to investigate and report to the class special lines of review; as Relation of France to American History, Important American Inventions, Outline of Tariff Legislation, etc., etc.

Whenever practicable, present the story objectively or pictorially. The learner never gets too mature to be profited by the occasional use of simple devices that appeal to the sense of sight. The charts on pages 52 and 108 will suggest plans that may be worked out by teacher and class, and used to great advantage in reviews. It is needless to say that portraits, pictures, and historic relics have their value in this connection.

Maps are as indispensable to the teaching of history as of geography. While it is believed that the rich supply of maps in the "History of Our Country" is ample for the preparation of the lesson, yet for the recitation wall-maps are necessary. The question of expense need not enter here. A large map drawn on the blackboard in colored crayon by one of the pupils will answer all the purposes of the manufactured map, and possess the added interest of being "home-made."

There should be a constant and earnest effort to awaken a spirit of historical investigation. Mere memory-training is the unpardonable sin of the history teacher. The "Thought Questions" in the text are an effort to lead the pupil to think for himself. It is hoped that they will suggest other and better means by which the imagination, the judgment, the reason, and the moral faculties of the pupils will be called into healthy exercise. Within the reach of every class there should be at least a few standard works of history and biography, by means of which the pupil's small store of knowledge may be increased, and the spirit of investigation encouraged.

The Topical Analyses will be found helpful to those teachers who prefer questions on the text to the topical method of recitation. They may be used to advantage in blackboard work; one pupil being required to write the topic headings of the lesson, another to add the topical analyses, others to expand into a written narrative. They will afford, moreover, a convenient basis for reviews.

Pupils may be referred to the Index for the pronunciation of difficult names.

H. F. E.

NOTE 1. — The following is suggested as an inexpensive but valuable reference library:

From Riverside Literature Series, 15 cents each, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. — Longfellow's *Evangeline*; *Courtship of Miles Standish*; *Song of Hiawatha* (two parts); Holmes's *Grandmother's Story* and other Poems; Hawthorne's *Grandfather's Chair* (three parts); Hawthorne's *Biographical Stories*.

From Old South Leaflets, 5 cents each, D. C. Heath & Co., Boston. — *Voyages to Vinland*, from the Saga of Eric the Red; Marco Polo's Account of Japan and Java; Americus Vesputius's Account of his First Voyage; Charter of Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Irving's *Columbus*, John Alden, N. Y.; Fiske's *Irving's Washington*, Macy's Civil Government, Ginn & Co., Boston; Parkman's *The Jesuits in North America*, and *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, Little, Brown & Co., Boston; Drake's *Making of New England*, and *Making of the Great West*, Scribner's Sons, N. Y.; Cooke's *Virginia*, and *My Lady Pocahontas*, Houghton, Mifflin & Co.; Curry's *The South in Relation to the Constitution and Union*, Putnam's Sons, N. Y.; Higginson's *Larger History of the U. S.*, Harpers, N. Y.; A. H. Stephen's *Larger History of U. S.*, National Pub. Co., Phila.

NOTE 2. — For the preparation of the original drawings of many of the maps in this book, acknowledgment is made to Mr. Alois Morkovsky, of Praha, Texas.

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HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY.

INTRODUCTORY.

AMERICA 400 YEARS AGO.

1. The North American Continent. — Four hundred years ago the eastern part of the North American continent, from



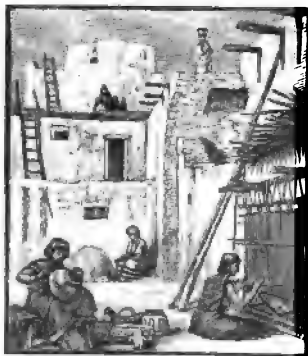
Ancient Cliff-Dwellings.

Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico, was a vast forest, broken here and there by small clearings which the savage natives had

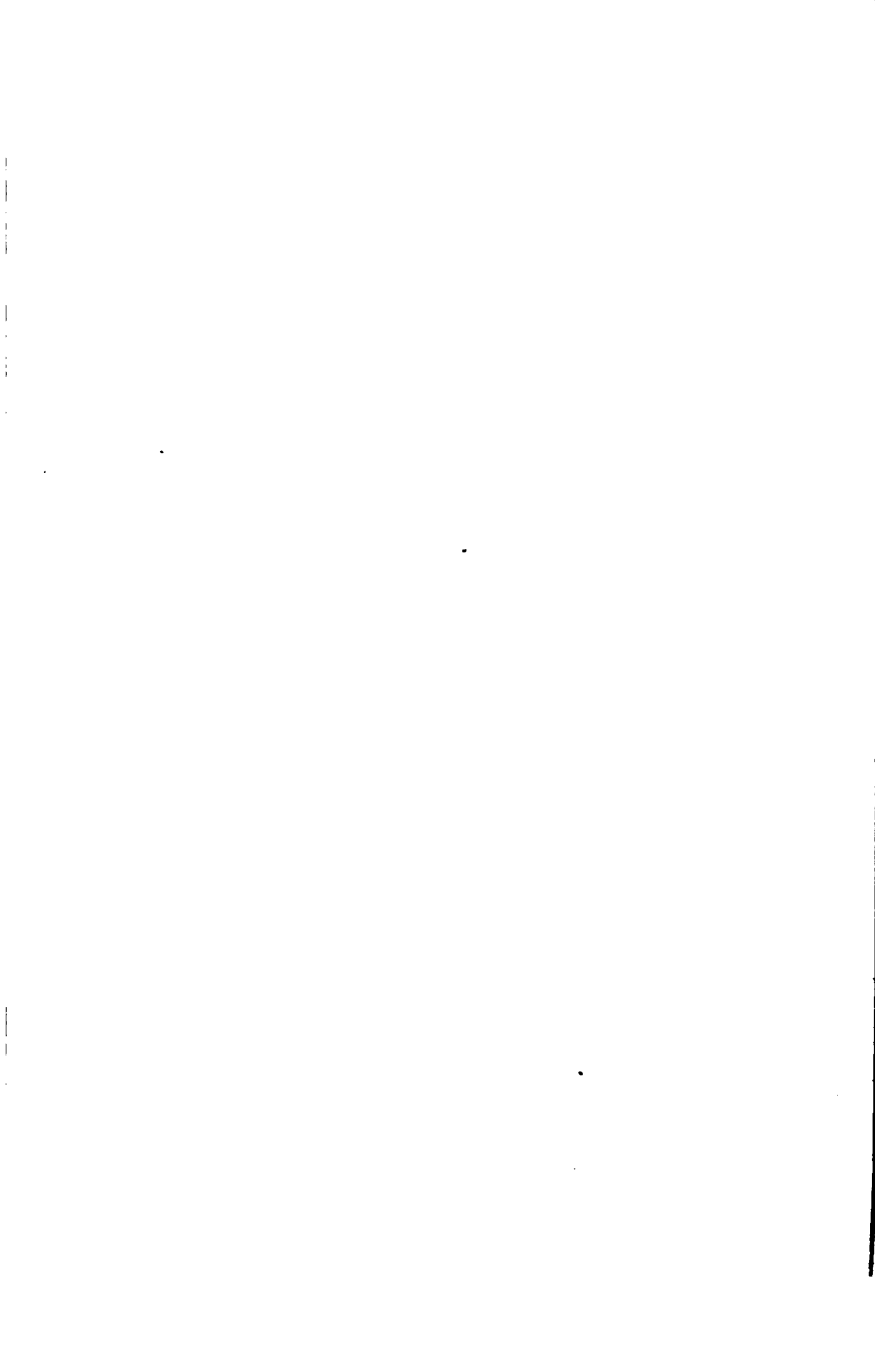
made by "girdling" the trees. Beyond the Mississippi were uncultivated prairies, upon which herds of deer and buffalo roamed unmolested. Still farther westward the peaks of the Rocky Mountains looked down upon a solitude undisturbed by human beings, save that here and there strange villages of "cliff-dwellers" hung upon the cañon sides. On the Pacific slope lay fertile valleys untouched by the hand of man.

Yet the physical features of this continent fitted it for rapid settlement, and destined it to be the home of a great people. The Atlantic coast, indented with numerous harbors, formed the doorway to the civilization of the Old World. Many wide and deep rivers, such as the St. Lawrence, Hudson, Potomac, and James, opened the way from the coast to the interior. Diversified climate, fertile soil, and the boundless natural resources of the country, made a noble land, "fitted to call forth and reward the energies of man."

2. The First Americans.—The European explorers of America found the continent already inhabited by a large number of human beings. In some parts of the country these natives had made progress towards civilization. In Central America there are ruins of what were once beautiful cities. The Peruvians of South America and the Aztecs of Mexico invented a system of writing, cultivated the soil, built good roads, and showed much skill in architecture. They were expert potters and workers in metals. The Pueblo tribes in New Mexico and Arizona built houses of sun-dried brick on high plateaus and in the cliffs of cañons. They also made cloth and pottery.



Pueblo Dwellings, N. M.



The inhabitants of the greater part of the continent, however, were savages. These bore the general name of Indians, a name given them by the early explorers, who believed the new continent to be a part of India. The Indians were divided into wandering tribes, whose territories were marked by no fixed boundaries.

3. Classification of Indian Tribes.—The Indians east of the Mississippi were divided into three great families of tribes,—the Iroquois, the Algonquins, and the Mobilians. The Iroquois, or Five Nations, were located in the territory of the present State of New York. Various tribes of the Algonquins occupied New England and the country as far south as North Carolina. The Mobilians, including the Creeks, Cherokees, and other smaller tribes, were found in the south.

West of the Mississippi the Dakotas, Sioux, Comanches, and Apaches were the most formidable.

The various tribes differed among themselves in language, manners, and customs, but they had many characteristics in common.

4. Personal Appearance.—The North American Indian was called the “red man,” because of his reddish brown, or copper color. He had high cheek bones, small black eyes, coarse black hair, and little or no beard. His figure was straight, slender, and of moderate height. His



An Indian Warrior.

clothing was scanty, — a deerskin over his shoulders, a strip of the same material around his waist, and in winter a pair of leggings to shield him from the cold. His feet were protected by “moccasins” made of soft buckskin and trimmed with beads or shells. He often tattooed himself. With colored clay he painted fantastic figures on his body. He adorned his head with feathers, while from his belt or around his neck hung eagles’ claws and other trophies of the chase.

5. Home Life. — The tribes were constantly migrating from one part of the country to another, and rarely had any permanent place of abode. Impelled by the desire for society, and



Wigwam.

for protection against their enemies, the members of the same tribe lived together in groups of huts, or villages. These huts were called “wigwams.” They were temporary structures, made usually by tying together the tops of saplings or poles arranged in a circle and then covering this framework with bark or with skins of animals. An open-

ing was left in the top of the wigwam for the smoke to escape. They had no furniture, save mats for beds, and a few rude cooking vessels of stone or baked clay. All the hard work was done by the women of the tribe; they cleared the small patches, cultivated the soil, and raised the scanty crops of corn, beans, melons, and tobacco which the tribe consumed. The men spent most of their time hunting, fishing, or on the “war path.” When not so engaged they were smoking and talking around the campfire, sleeping away the long, idle days,

gambling,¹ or playing such games as football, quoits, etc. The children wandered about in savage freedom, uncared for, and untaught, save in wrestling, fishing, and forest arts. The Indian had no domestic animals, except a sort of wolfish dog that accompanied its master on the chase.

6. Social Distinctions; the "Totem."—There were no grades of society among the Indians. One warrior was as good as another, and around the council-fires all had the right to be heard. Deference was shown to old men, wise men, orators, and heads of clans.

A peculiar social institution called the "totem" existed among most of the tribes. Tribes were divided into clans. Each clan had its peculiar emblem, called the "totem," consisting of some bird, beast, or reptile, whose figure was often tattooed on the bodies of the members of the clan. Each clan was named from its "totem," as the clan of the Wolf, or Bear, or Hawk. Members of the same clan were kinsmen, and so were forbidden to intermarry. Membership in the clan descended through the mother; that is, the children belonged to the clan and bore the "totem" of their mother. Indians having the same "totem," although widely separated



Indian Gravestone
showing the Totem
of the Turtle.

¹ "Most Indians were desperate gamblers, staking their all,—ornaments, clothing, canoe, pipes, weapons, wives. A favorite game among the Hurons and Iroquois was played with plum stones or wooden chips, black on one side and white on the other. They were tossed up in a wooden bowl by striking it sharply on the ground, and the players betted on the black and white. Sometimes a village challenged a neighboring village. The parties stood facing each other, while two champion players struck the bowl on the ground between them. The bets ran high. A French missionary relates that once in midwinter, with the snow nearly three feet deep, the men of a village returned from a gambling visit bereft of their leggings and barefoot, yet in excellent humor."—*Parkman*.

and speaking different dialects, were bound to relieve each other's distresses whenever occasion demanded.

7. Government. — The Indian knew little of the restraints of law and government. Each tribe had its sachem, or peace chief. The power of the sachem was advisory. There was no fixed provision for the punishment of crime. When a dispute arose the Indian relied on his own strength to maintain his rights. If he failed in this he applied for protection to his chief, who sometimes inflicted punishment with his own hands. When a murder was committed the relatives of the slain man were expected to avenge his death, or at least to secure from the murderers payment of a sum fixed by custom as the price of a life.

In time of war the fighting men submitted to the leadership of some warrior whose courage and reputation gave him precedence. This war chief was sometimes also the sachem, but often a different person.

8. Religion. — With no Bible, no priests, no temples, and but vague notions of God, there could be little definiteness or system about the Indian's religious belief. To him every plant, every animal, every stream and lake had its "Manitou," or incarnate spirit, endowed with mysterious power. The bones of the beaver were treated with tenderness and carefully kept from the dogs, lest the spirit of the dead beaver should take offense. In every tribe there was a "medicine man," who, by arts of magic, professed to cure sickness, drive away evil spirits, and regulate the weather. Their dances had a certain religious significance. The first missionaries found no word in any Indian language to express our idea of God. The Indian's notion of the one Great Spirit is thought to have been obtained from the white settlers. He believed in a future life, but in the Indian hereafter moral good was not rewarded, nor was moral evil punished. Courage and skill,

even in a thief or murderer, secured admission to the "Happy Hunting Grounds"; while the cowardly, the stupid, and the weak were doomed to eat serpents and ashes, in gloomy regions of shade.

9. Indian Wars. — The roving and jealous nature of the Indians, and consequent disputes over the possession of favorite hunting grounds, led to constant warfare among the tribes. So universal and so bitter were these tribal antagonisms, that combinations of tribes, even for defense against a common enemy, were extremely rare. Occasionally a chief of powerful personal influence was enabled to form a widespread "conspiracy" against the white settlers, and thereby sweep whole settlements to destruction. But with the death or defeat of the leader, the league soon fell to pieces. The tomahawk (a rude stone hatchet), the scalping knife, and the bow and arrow were the Indian weapons of warfare until guns were procured from the whites. Night attacks, surprises, and ambushes were their favorite tactics. The Indians never fought a pitched battle in open field.



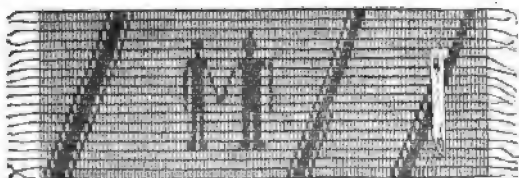
Tomahawk.

10. Treatment of Captives. — Prisoners taken in war were treated with horrible cruelty. The unfortunate captive was often compelled to "run the gauntlet" between two long lines of his enemies, each of whom struck him with a club or knife as he went by. His tortures were frequently ended by death at the stake. The scalp of the victim was always taken by his slayers, and the reputation and influence of a warrior were determined by the number of these bloody trophies suspended from his belt.

After the coming of the whites the Indians frequently spared the lives of captives in order to demand a ransom from their friends. Sometimes a prisoner who happened to be fancied by

one of his captors was "adopted," with elaborate ceremonies. The captive's life was then spared, and he became a member of the tribe of his conquerors. Instances are recorded of white captives, who, after years spent among the savages as adopted members of the tribe, became so attached to their associates that they refused all entreaties of their white relatives to return to civilized life.

II. Relations with White Settlers. — The first European explorers of North America were received with honor by the natives, and treated as superior beings. More than once a white settlement was saved from starvation by the kindness of the



Wampum, or Indian Money, made of Strings of Shells or Beads.

Indians in freely sharing their supply of food. As a rule, the first settlers were careful to purchase land from the savages upon terms satisfactory to the latter. The Indians readily sold their lands at what appear to us ridiculously low prices. A blanket, a kettle, a knife, a hatchet, a few trinkets were sufficient to purchase hundreds of fertile acres. But we must remember that one of these simple household articles might transform the whole life of a savage. To him, a kettle was a complete set of kitchen furniture; a blanket was an entire wardrobe. Moreover, in his sale of lands the Indian seemed to have an imperfect idea of absolute surrender of the soil. He supposed he was granting merely the right of joint occupancy. The fixed boundaries and palisaded enclosures of the lands sold to the whites in time aroused the indignation of

the red man, as he realized that his home was gone from him forever. It cannot be denied that in many of their land dealings with the Indians, the unscrupulous action of the white settlers was a disgrace to Christianity and civilization. The Europeans quarreled with each other over rival titles to the soil, totally ignoring the claims of the Indians. It has been said that the only landed right recognized as belonging to the savages was that of giving up territory.

In most of the English colonies efforts were made to Christianize the savages. Whether from hatred of the white man or from the animal nature of the Indian, these efforts met with poor success.

In the conflict between European nations on American soil, the Indian tribes were frequently secured as allies by one side or the other. Yet their aid, while valuable, was always unreliable.¹

12. Character. — In their own wigwams and at their festivals, the Indians were often talkative and sociable. But on most public occasions and in the presence of strangers, they were haughty and reserved. They prided themselves on their self-control. Surprise, anger, grief, joy, bodily pain, were experienced without the slightest outward sign. A wild love of liberty and utter intolerance of control lay at the basis of their character. Courage, hospitality, and loyalty to friends were their redeeming traits. At the same time, they were cunning, sly, and suspicious. Their worst trait was the spirit

¹ The governor of Virginia, in a letter to an English general during the French and Indian War, wrote: "I think we have secured the Six Nations to our interest. They are a very awkward, dirty set of People, yet absolutely necessary to attack the enemy's Indians. They are naturally inclined to drink. It will be a prudent step to restrain them with moderation."

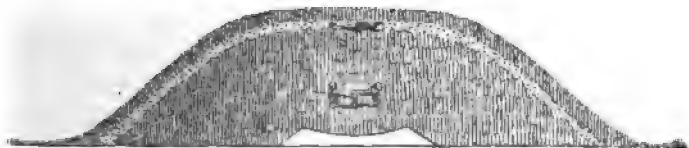
The French commander, Dieskau, about the same time thus expressed himself about his savage allies: "They drive us crazy from morning till night. One needs the patience of an angel to get on with these devils, and yet one must always force himself to seem pleased with them."

of revenge and cruelty, which made them delight in slaughter and in torturing their enemies. That the Indian made such little progress in civilization, is due partly to the extreme pride of his nature, which acknowledged no superior, and partly to his superstitious imagination, which made him accept fanciful explanations of the phenomena of nature instead of cultivating his power of reason in their investigation. "If the wind blew violently, it was because the water lizard, which makes the wind, had crawled out of his pool; if the lightning was frequent, it was because the young of the thunder bird were restless in their nest." No race ever offered greater obstacles to its own improvement.

13. The Modern Indians. — For two hundred years after the first permanent settlement in our country, Indian wars were a source of terror to the settlers, and influenced to a great extent the history of our people. Gradually, however, the Indians have been driven west of the Mississippi, and have passed under the complete control of the United States government. The total number in the United States to-day is about three hundred thousand. They are found chiefly in the Indian Territory and certain reservations in the western states. Several million dollars are spent every year by the United States government for their support. The best way to care for and control the Indians is a problem still unsolved. Some few tribes have become civilized and Christianized, but the majority still maintain their roving disposition and thriftless habits. The presence of troops is constantly required to quell disturbances that arise among them.

14. The Mounds of the Mississippi Valley. — At various places in the Mississippi Valley are found immense mounds of earth of peculiar shape, which were evidently constructed many centuries ago. Some of these mounds seem to have been intended for works of defense, others for burial places or

religious purposes. The great amount of labor required to build such immense earthworks, together with the stone implements, utensils of pottery, and ornaments of copper they have been found to contain, seem to indicate that they were con-



Section of Mound, Kanawha, W. Va.

structed by a different race of people from the Indians. It is supposed that the Mound Builders occupied the country before the Indians, and possessed some degree of civilization; but the problem of the origin of these mounds has not yet been cleared up.

15. Summary. — Let the student write in the form of a composition on "The North American Indians," a summary of what he considers the most important points mentioned in this chapter. He should first read carefully the entire chapter, then consult other sources of information. The composition may embrace such topics as the origin, classification, appearance, manner of life, character, influence, and destiny of the Indian.

To the Teacher. — Encourage the pupil to bring into his work "outside information," and to express his own views. A profitable lesson-period may be spent in the reading and discussion of these compositions, supplemented by the reading of selections from Longfellow's "Hiawatha," Cooper's "Last of the Mohicans," and Leland's "Algonquin Legends of New England."

16. Thought Questions. — Mention the names of some famous Indians, and tell what you can about them. What tribes once inhabited the state in which you live? Why did the white settlers prefer African slaves to Indian slaves? Mention some Indian names found in the geography of our country; some common words borrowed from the Indian language; some products of the soil which the Indians taught the white settlers to use. If this continent had never been discovered by white men, would the condition of its native inhabitants to-day be better or worse than it actually is? Give reasons.

TOPICAL ANALYSIS (AMERICA FOUR HUNDRED YEARS AGO).

1. **Physical Features.** { Eastern part : forest, small clearings.
Beyond the Mississippi, wild prairies.
Pacific slope, mountains, fertile valleys.
Harbors, rivers, climate, soil fitted it for dense population.
2. **First Americans.** { The Peruvians of S. A. } Exhibited rude civil-
The Aztecs of Mexico. } zation.
Pueblo tribes in S. W. }
Savages called Indians inhabited most of conti-
nent.
3. **Classification of Indian Tribes.** { East { Iroquois — New York.
of Miss. R. { Algonquins — New Eng. to S. C.
Mobilians { Creeks,
Cherokees, etc. } South.
West { Dakotas.
of Miss. R. { Sioux.
Comanches.
Apaches.
4. **Personal Appearance.**
5. **Home Life.** { Wigwams.
Occupation of women.
Occupation of men.
Condition of children.
6. **Totem :** Its significance.
7. **Government.** { Sachem.
War Chief.
8. **Religion.** { Manitou.
Medicine Man.
Happy Hunting Grounds.
9. **Indian Wars.** — Tribal Antagonisms ; Weapons.
10. **Treatment of Captives.** { Running the gauntlet.
Scalping.
Adoption of captives.
11. **Relations with Whites.** { Friendly at first.
Became hostile through encroachments of whites.
12. **Character of Indians.** — Their good traits ; their bad traits.
13. **Modern Indians.** { West of Miss. R., Ind. Ter., and other reservations.
Number : about 300,000.
Supported chiefly by U. S. Government.
14. **Mound Builders.**

PERIOD OF DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION.

THREE GREAT VOYAGERS.

I. LEIF ERICSON.

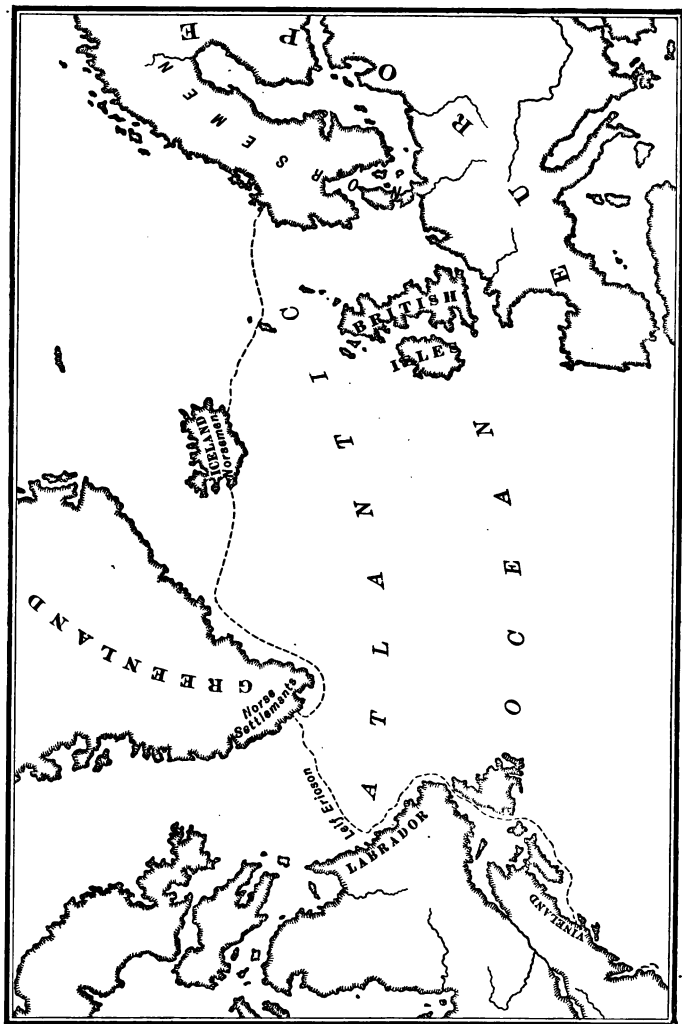
17. The Northmen.—Northmen, or Norsemen, is a name applied to the inhabitants of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. In the earliest times these people were noted as bold sailors and fierce warriors. Two branches of this great family—the Danes and the Normans—between the eighth and the eleventh centuries overran England, and conquered that part of France called Normandy. These Northmen and their kinsfolk, the Saxons, were the founders of the English nation. Most Americans, as descendants of the English, have some of the old Norse blood in their veins.

18. The Voyage of Leif Ericson.—The island of Iceland was settled by the Northmen at an early day. From Iceland



Norse Ship of Tenth Century.

these Norsemen made their way to Greenland, and established a few settlements in that frozen country. In about the year



Route of Norse Voyagers.

1000, Leif Ericson, a native of Iceland, sailed from Greenland with thirty-five men in search of a land which a fellow-country-

man, Bjarni, claimed to have seen from his ship some years before. Sailing to the southwest, Ericson came in sight of the bleak shores of Labrador. He coasted toward the south, probably as far as Massachusetts. Finding the climate mild and the country inviting, he landed and spent the winter. From the quantity of grapes which he found, he named the country Vinland.

19. Result of Leif Ericson's Visit. — Leif Ericson's discovery attracted but little attention among his people. Several voyages were made to the region he had visited, but no permanent settlement was effected. The Northmen probably regarded Greenland as a part of Norway, and Vinland as an adjacent island. After a while the settlements in Greenland perished and were forgotten. Except to a few Northmen, Ericson's great voyage was not known and had no effect upon the civilized world. Measured by its results, Leif Ericson's visit to America had no historic importance.

20. The Norse Sagas. — Authority for the account of Leif Ericson's voyage is found chiefly in the "Norse Sagas." The



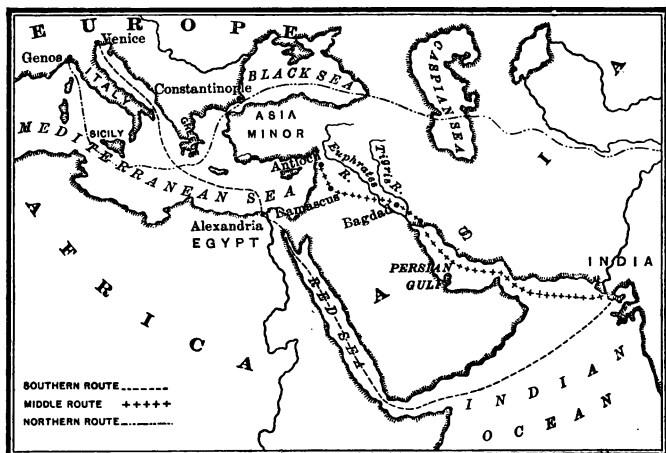
Norse Ruins in Greenland.

Sagas are rude stories, half poems, in which the family histories of that early time were preserved. They were at first memorized and thus handed down from father to son ; in later years

they were committed to writing. Like the ballad literature of early England, they often contained, with much exaggeration, a solid basis of truth. The unquestioned fact that flourishing settlements of Northmen existed in Greenland, the nearness of Greenland to the continent of America, and the well-known adventurous spirit of the Norse sailors, all serve to confirm the record of the Sagas.

II. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

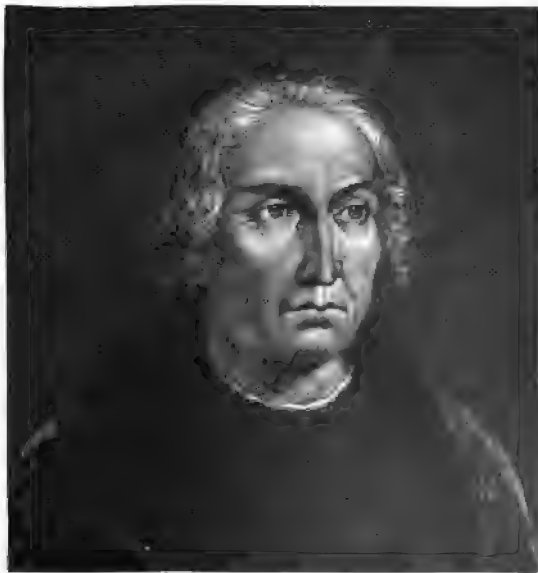
21. The Times in Which He Lived.—The early part of the fifteenth century belongs to the period known as the "Dark



Routes of Trade between India and Cities of Southern Europe.

Ages" of the world. Everywhere the common people were oppressed by the nobles, and governments exercised little restraint upon the rich and powerful. In southern Europe some enlightenment was found, but in most lands dense ignorance prevailed. There were few schools and no printed books.

The maps of that time show that the shape and extent of the great continents of Africa and Asia were unknown, as was the extent of the seas. It was commonly believed that the earth was flat. A few learned men had advanced the theory that its shape was that of a sphere, but the suggestion was generally looked upon as absurd. The Mediterranean Sea was the great



Columbus.

highway of commerce, and few ships ventured to sail beyond its waters. About the middle of the century printing was invented, and the compass came into general use. As books became plentiful and cheap, the world began to awaken from its long sleep of ignorance. Marco Polo, an Italian, published an account of his travels in India and China. His book was widely read, and directed the attention of merchants and traders to those distant lands. A profitable commerce had already

sprung up between India and the cities of southern Europe, but goods had to be carried part of the journey overland, and this was expensive, troublesome, and even dangerous. The great question of the time was, "Is there a water-route to India?"

22. His Home.— Four hundred years ago Genoa was one of the richest cities on the Mediterranean coast. Situated on the northwest shore of Italy, hemmed in to the sea by mountains, her people devoted themselves to commerce, and sailed their ships to distant lands. In this city Christopher Columbus was born. To a young man of Genoa the sea was the only road to fame and fortune, and so Columbus at fourteen years of age became a sailor. He not only visited the principal places on the Mediterranean, but sailed out into the Atlantic, and coasted along the western shores of Europe.

23. His Plan and How He Came to Form It.— Columbus was attracted to Portugal by the fame of her sailors and geog-



This Map shows how Columbus (not knowing that America lay in the way) hoped to reach Asia and the East Indies by sailing West.

raphers. In the intervals between his voyages, he earned a living in that country by making maps and charts. His travels and studies convinced him that the earth was round, and

that the great problem of a water-route to India could be solved by sailing west. He determined to risk his life on the unknown ocean, and prove by actual experiment what learned men before him had advanced as mere theory. There were two errors in his calculations that made the proposed voyage seem shorter and less dangerous than it actually was. He underestimated by several thousand miles the distance around the earth ; and he overestimated the size of Asia, making it extend too far to the east. Thus he thought that a voyage of about three thousand miles would bring him to India. We know now that this was about the distance to the then undiscovered continent of America, while India was more than three times as far as Columbus supposed.

24. His Disappointments. — But Columbus was too poor to hire a ship and to employ sailors for so long a voyage. He applied for aid first to the government of his native city, Genoa. Failing there, he next made application to the king of Portugal, a monarch whose sailors were then exploring the western coast of Africa, to see how far that continent extended, and to find out if India could be reached in that way. King John submitted the plan of Columbus to a council of learned men. They declared it absurd. Not disheartened, Columbus decided to appeal to King Ferdinand and Queen



Queen Isabella.

Isabella, sovereigns of the newly-united kingdoms of Arragon and Castile in Spain. These monarchs were in the midst of a

war with the Moors on their southern border, and had no time for the enterprise. They listened to Columbus with politeness, but put off giving him a final answer. For five years he waited and hoped. At last, concluding that nothing could be accomplished in Spain, he started to leave the country.

25. Queen Isabella's Aid. — Before Columbus reached the Spanish frontier, Queen Isabella had been induced to give him another hearing. He hastened back, and with all his eloquence presented to the queen the arguments in support of his theory, picturing the glory and wealth which the success of the undertaking would bring to Spain. The noble and sympathetic heart of Isabella was touched by his appeal. It is said she even offered to pledge her jewels in order to raise the money to buy and equip vessels for the voyage.

26. The Voyage. — Three small sailing-vessels were procured, the largest, called the Santa Maria, probably not more than 63 feet long and 20 feet broad. On Friday, August 3d, 1492, the little fleet set sail from the harbor of Palos, Spain, amid the tears and prayers of friends on shore, who never expected to see their loved ones again. Columbus first sailed southwest and stopped at one of the Canary Islands.¹ Then he struck boldly out towards the west on the unknown ocean. Weeks passed, and no land was seen. The trade-winds bore them steadily onward. The sailors in alarm began to

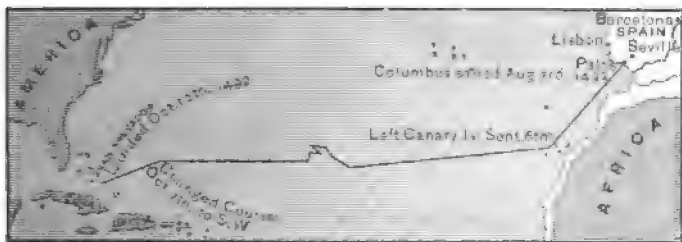


Caravel of Fifteenth Century.

¹ On the maps of Columbus, Cipango (Japan), a supposed outlying island of India, was due west of the Canary Islands.

ask, "How can we ever return in the face of this changeless wind?" And then the compass began to vary, the needle no longer pointing toward the North Star. The frightened men threatened to turn back. But the courage of Columbus never faltered. By artifices, bribes, and threats he prevailed upon the sailors to continue on their course.

27. Discovery of America.—At last a carved stick and limbs of trees were seen floating on the water. The king and queen had promised a large sum of money to the sailor who should first discover land. Columbus added the offer of a vel-



Map of Columbus's Route on his great Voyage across the Ocean.

vet coat. At two o'clock one morning, as Columbus was anxiously looking out from his ship, he saw far away in the distance a light moving to and fro, like a torch carried by some one on shore. To the great joy of all, when daylight came, land was seen—Friday, October 12th, 1492.

28. The New Land.—The land proved to be one of the Bahama Islands, possibly that now known as Guanahani, or Cat Island. Columbus named it San Salvador (Holy Saviour). He landed and took possession of the country in the name of the king and queen of Spain. Believing that he had reached islands near the coast of India, he called the natives who came crowding around him Indians. Several months were spent in coasting among the West India Islands. At last he set out on

his return, carrying with him specimens of the strange plants and savage men of the lands he had visited.

29. His Return.—Columbus's return voyage was a stormy one. He lost one of his vessels and became separated from the other. Fearing that his ship might be wrecked and the news of his discovery forever lost, he wrote a full account of his voyage and sealed it in a water-tight cask, hoping that if his vessel sank this cask might float to land and tell the story of his great achievement. Finally, after an absence of nearly eight months, his two storm-beaten vessels reached once more the little harbor of Palos. The report that Columbus had returned alive and successful quickly spread and caused great enthusiasm. The king and queen received him with distinguished honor, and everywhere windows and balconies were thronged with people eager to catch a glimpse of the great discoverer.

30. Other Voyages.—Columbus made three other voyages. He established a settlement on the Island of Hayti, and explored most of the West India group. In 1498 he discovered the mainland of South America, near the mouth of the Orinoco River. He never realized, however, that he had found a new continent, and died believing that he had reached India and its outlying islands.

31. Last Days of Columbus.—According to agreement with Ferdinand and Isabella, Columbus was made governor of the lands he discovered. His Spanish colonists, however, were many of them wicked, lawless men. They hated Columbus because he was an Italian, and they defied his authority. Finally they succeeded in having him removed from his office, and he was sent back to Spain in chains. Although he was soon set at liberty, yet his powerful friends deserted him. The good Queen Isabella died, and he was allowed to pass his last days

a poor man, unknown and forgotten. He was buried at Valladolid, Spain ; afterward his bones were removed, and they now rest in the Cathedral at Havana, Cuba.

32. Results of Columbus's Discovery. — It was years after the death of Columbus before people ceased to believe that the new lands were a part of India. Yet to Christopher Columbus justly belongs the glory of discovering the "New World." By his genius, courage, and perseverance he conquered the terrors of the unknown sea and gave to civilization a continent. The recently invented art of printing spread the news of his voyages. Sailors from all lands steered their ships toward the West, anxious to win fame and wealth by some new discovery. Spain, following up the advantage Columbus had given her, hastened to take possession of the new country, and soon became the richest nation in the world. Intelligent men everywhere began to ask themselves whether other beliefs of their time were not as false as had been that of the shape of the earth. They determined to investigate for themselves the right and justice of long-established customs. The result was a mighty impetus to the liberty, Christianity, and enlightenment of mankind.

III. JOHN CABOT.

33. His Plan. — John Cabot was an Italian sailor living in Bristol, on the coast of England. Having heard that Columbus had succeeded in reaching India, he concluded from a study of his maps that a shorter route to that coveted land could be found by sailing to the northwest, instead of to the southwest, as Columbus had done. He obtained from King Henry VII., of England, permission to sail under the English flag, and to take possession of any lands hitherto unseen by Christian people. The voyage was to be "at his own proper cost and charge." He was to have exclusive control of the commerce

with the countries he might discover, and was to pay to the king one-fifth of all the profits.

34. His Voyage and Discovery.—In 1497, John Cabot set sail from Bristol with one small vessel and eighteen persons. His little ship crossed the ocean in safety, and reached the coast of Labrador. Cabot landed, and erecting a cross with two flags, — one of England, the other of Venice, his native city, — claimed the country for the English king. This was the first discovery of the mainland of America, and was more than a year before Columbus reached the shores of South America. Cabot sailed along the icy and barren coast until his provisions gave out, and then returned to England. (See map, p. 24.)

35. The News in England.—The news that Cabot had reached India and the territories of the “Great Cham” caused excitement in England. He was treated with honor, and was known as the “Great Admiral.” The king presented him with a small sum of money, and promised him an annual pension. Although he had found no gold nor seen any human beings, yet he believed that the famous Island of Cipango (Japan), described by Marco Polo as rich in gold and precious jewels, lay near the land he had reached. So he found no trouble in obtaining permission to make a second voyage.

36. Sebastian Cabot's Explorations.—It is probable that John Cabot died before preparations for his second voyage were completed. His son, Sebastian, took charge of the expedition, and with six ships and three hundred men set sail on the track of the former voyage. Reaching the shores of Labrador, he coasted toward the north, hoping to find a western passage around the land. At last his course was stopped by floating ice. Turning his ships, he followed the coast toward the south, as far, perhaps, as North Carolina. He landed in several places, and found the country inhabited by Indians. His fleet

returned to England after an absence of six months.¹ Sebastian Cabot, like his father, believed that he had explored the coast of Asia.

37. Result of the Discoveries of the Cabots.—John Cabot first reached the mainland of America, and discovered what was for a hundred years the shortest route known across the Atlantic (§ 68). After his voyage sailors were no longer afraid to leave the southwesterly track of Columbus, but struck out boldly into every part of the ocean. On the discovery of John Cabot and the explorations of his son, Sebastian, were based the claims of England to the continent of North America. The English were slow to take possession of the new country, allowing more than a hundred years to pass before a permanent settlement was made. Yet their title to the soil thus acquired was not forgotten. When we remember that in later years England outstripped all other nations in the struggle for ownership of North America, and that now Englishmen, or their descendants, control the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic Ocean, we can better realize the great importance of the discoveries of the Cabots.

38. Summary.—*Leif Ericson*, a Norseman, in about the year 1000 sailed from Iceland to Greenland, and thence to the continent of America, landing probably on the coast of Massachusetts. No permanent occupancy of the country followed. His voyage was known only by his own countrymen, and was soon forgotten by them. Centuries afterward vague and imperfect accounts of Leif Ericson's visit were found in the Norse Sagas.

Christopher Columbus, an Italian sailor, believing in the unproved theory of the roundness of the earth, sailed from Spain under the authority of the

¹ Afterward Sebastian Cabot entered the service of King Ferdinand of Spain, and was made Pilot Major of the Kingdom. In his old age he returned to England and was granted a liberal pension by King Edward VI. Unlike Columbus, the Cabots wrote no account of their voyages, and we have to depend upon uncertain reports of conversations with Sebastian Cabot. Even the burial places of these great mariners, who gave to England a continent, are unknown.

Spanish king and queen to find a westerly route to India. He reached one of the Bahama Islands on October 12, 1492. On a subsequent voyage, six years later (1498), he discovered the continent of South America, but died believing that he had reached the coast of Asia. His voyages were the means of revealing the American continent to the civilized world.

John Cabot, an Italian seaman, sailing from England under the authority of the king, first discovered the mainland of America in 1497. His son, Sebastian, explored the coast from Labrador to Chesapeake Bay. On their discoveries and explorations the English claim to North America was based.

39. Thought Questions.—Find on the map the home of the Northmen; give two reasons, from the situation of their country and its climate, why the Northmen were great sailors. Measure, by a scale of miles, the distance from Norway to Iceland; from Iceland to Greenland; from Greenland to Labrador. To what nation does Greenland now belong? Did Leif Ericson's voyage or that of Columbus require the greater heroism? Explain why. How do you account for the slight effect produced in the Old World by the discoveries of the Northmen? If the art of printing had been in use in the year 1000, what might have been the result? *Debate:* Resolved that Leif Ericson rather than Columbus should be called the discoverer of America. Show how Marco Polo's description of the wealth of India hastened the discovery of America. Which of the great discoverers were Italian? Why were they not employed by their own government? How did the United States celebrate the 400th anniversary of Columbus's discovery?

Copy and fill out the following tabular statement; write as many "Results" as you can, and underline the most important:

THE THREE GREAT VOYAGERS.

NAME.	Native Country.	Government (if any) authorizing voyage.	Date of Discovery.	Land Discovered.	RESULTS.
Leif Ericson					
Christopher Columbus					
John Cabot					

TOPICAL ANALYSIS (THE GREAT VOYAGERS).

LEIF ERICSON.	17. His People.	{ Home. Achievements.
	18. Voyage.	{ Object. Equipment. Route. Discovery.
	19. Results.	{ Upon his own country. Upon civilized world.
	20. Norse Sagas.	
COLUMBUS.	21. Condition of his Time.	{ Ignorance of geography. Revival of learning. Water-route to India.
	22. His Home.	{ City of Genoa. Early life.
	23. His Plan.	{ His belief. Errors in his calculations.
	24. His Disappointments.	{ His native city. King John of Portugal. Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain.
	25. Success.	Queen Isabella's aid.
	26. The Voyage.	{ Equipment ; start. Course. Discouragements.
	27, 28. Discovery.	{ Land sighted. Claim made.
	29. The Return.	{ Stormy weather. Reception in Spain.
	30. Three Other Voyages.	{ Settlement on Hayti. South America discovered.
	31. Last Days.	His poverty ; his grave.
	32. Results.	{ A new world revealed. Enlightenment of mankind hastened.
THE CABOTS.	33. John Cabot.	{ Nativity and home. Conditions of his voyage.
	34. His Voyage.	{ Equipment. Land discovered.
	36. Sebastian Cabot.	Voyage and explorations.
	37. Results.	{ Shorter route across Atlantic. Basis of England's claim.

EXPLORATIONS AND SETTLEMENTS.**THE NAME OF THE CONTINENT.**

40. Some years after Columbus' discovery, Amerigo Vespucci (called in Latin, Americus Vesputius), an Italian navigator, employed first by Spain, afterward by Portugal, made several voyages to the New World. While in the service of Portugal, in 1501, Vespucci explored the coast of Brazil far enough to discover that that country was not part of India, as the northern lands visited by Columbus and the Cabots were still supposed to be. His explorations proved the existence of a new continent in the southern hemisphere. The news created almost as great an impression in the Old World as had Columbus' supposed discovery of a western route to Asia. Müller, a German printer, who published Vespucci's description of this new southern continent, suggested that the country be called "Terra Americi," the Land of Americus. The suggestion was seized upon by geographers, and the name America, first restricted to South America, was afterward applied to the entire continent.

SPANISH EXPLORATIONS.

41. Spain's Advantage.—The discoveries of Columbus were magnificent triumphs for Spain, and gave her an advantage over the other nations of Europe in the race of discovery and exploration that now followed. Portugal was Spain's greatest rival on the seas. To prevent the two nations from quarreling over the new lands in the west, the Pope issued a decree fixing a dividing line between their possessions. He selected a meridian 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, and declared that all heathen lands west of this meridian should belong to Spain; all east of it, to

Portugal. (See, from map, page 24, how this decision was another point in Spain's favor.) Every bold Spanish captain was now eager to win wealth and distinction by the conquest of new countries for his sovereign. Inspired by the heroic example of Columbus, they despised the fears that so recently



Spanish Explorations.

chilled the bravest hearts. Not strange seas, nor trackless forests, nor hostile savages could check these daring explorers.

42. Florida Discovered.—Ponce de Leon had accompanied Columbus on his second voyage, and was afterward made governor of one of the West India Islands. Having been deposed from his office, the old man brooded over his disgrace, and longed for the strength and glory of his younger days. The Indians had told him that in the distant lands across the sea was a spring that could make forever young those who bathed in its waters. De Leon believed the story, and at his own expense fitted out an expedition to search for the wonderful fountain. On Easter Sunday, 1512, he came in

sight of land, which he named Florida, from the Spanish *Pascua Florida* (Flowery Easter).

Years afterward he returned to establish a colony. His men were attacked so fiercely by the Indians that they had to hurry to their ships, and Ponce de Leon was mortally wounded by an arrow. Sad that the old man should receive his death wound in the beautiful land where he had expected to gain immortal youth !

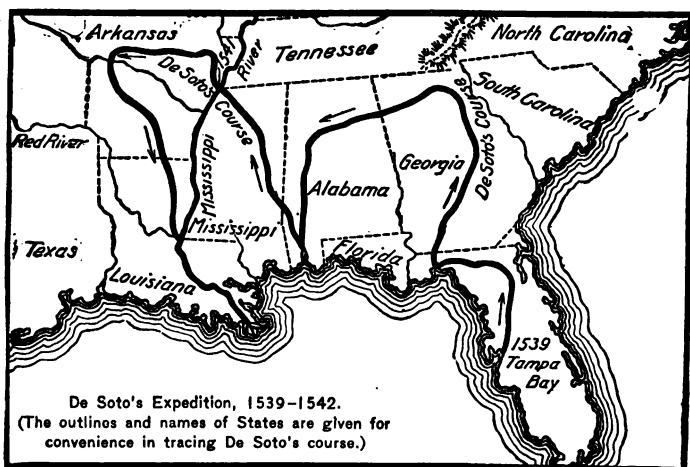
43. The Pacific Ocean. — Balboa, another Spanish explorer, sailed to the Isthmus of Panama, and heard from the Indians of a great sea which lay beyond the lands he had touched. With a small band of soldiers, he boldly set out through forests and across mountains toward the interior of the country. At last, from the top of a mountain peak, he caught sight of the blue waves of a great ocean. Reaching the shore, Balboa waded into the water, and waving his sword above his head, claimed for the king of Spain the ocean and all the lands it touched (1513). His discovery proved North America to be a separate continent, and not a part of Asia.¹

44. The World Circumnavigated. — Seven years later (1520), Magellan, a Portuguese sailor in the service of Spain, coasting along the southern part of South America, passed through the straits that bear his name, and sailed upon the ocean which Balboa had discovered. Magellan gave the name *Pacific* to the great ocean because he found it so peaceful during his voyage. Landing on the western coast of South America, he was killed in a battle with the Indians. His men, continuing the voyage, crossed the Pacific and Indian Oceans, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and reached Spain in safety. This was the first circumnavigation of the globe. The question of the shape of the earth was thus settled forever,

¹ As to South America see § 40.

and a western route to India was found at last. (See map, page 24.)

45. Conquest of Florida. — Ferdinand de Soto had been a soldier under Pizarro in the Spanish conquest of Peru. Returning to Spain, he was ambitious to rival the exploits of his former leader. The name of Florida was at that time given to the whole of the southern part of what is now the United



States. De Soto determined to explore this vast region in the hope of finding gold. Landing on the western coast of the peninsula of Florida, he sent his ships back, and with 600 men, started through the forests and swamps toward the north. His men were dressed in gay uniforms and mounted on fine horses. They were supplied with every kind of weapon then known, and besides took with them bloodhounds to use against the Indians and chains to bind their captives. For three years De Soto's band wandered through the present states of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, in the

vain search for gold—their numbers constantly diminishing from attacks of the Indians and from wasting sickness.

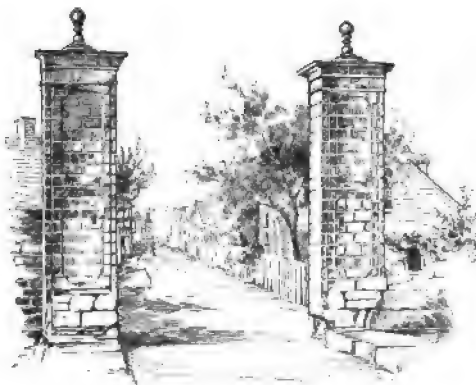
46. Discovery of the Mississippi.—At last, in 1541, De Soto came in sight of the Mississippi River near where the city of Memphis now stands. This was the first time that the great “Father of Waters” had been seen by a white man. Exposure and repeated disappointments, however, had broken the health and spirits of the adventurous Spaniard, and he died the next year. The Indians had feared De Soto, and to conceal his death from them, his body was buried at midnight in the mighty river he had discovered. His men wandered through the present State of Arkansas, probably as far as its western border, then returning to the river, built a few boats in which they floated down to the Gulf, finally reaching the Spanish settlements in Mexico.

47. Explorations in the West.—While Magellan was making his famous voyage around the world, Mexico with its rich mines and ancient civilization was being conquered by the Spanish general, Cortez. From Mexico several expeditions were sent out to explore the country to the north. Coronado was the most prominent explorer of this region. California was visited and the Pacific coast explored as far north as Oregon.

48. Texas was traversed from the Gulf of Mexico to its northwestern boundary in 1528 by Cabeza de Vaca and three companions, the sole survivors of an unsuccessful attempt to explore Florida. Having lost their ships off the Florida coast, they built a few rude boats and coasted along the shores of the Gulf of Mexico until they reached Texas. They landed somewhere near Galveston Island and passed through the country northward as far as the Canadian River. Turning to-

ward the Pacific coast, they were met by some Spanish soldiers who escorted them to the city of Mexico.

49. The First Permanent Settlement. — Pedro Menendez, hearing that a company of Huguenots, or French Protestants, had formed a settlement on the St. Johns River in Florida, resolved to expel the intruders and colonize the country for the king of Spain. He set sail with a large fleet and over two thousand people. Landing on the northeast coast of Florida, he laid the foundation of a town which he called St. Augustine. This was in the year 1565, and is important, as it



Old Spanish Gateway at St. Augustine.
(Called the "City Gate.")

marks the first permanent European settlement within the present limits of the United States. Some of the old stone houses built by Menendez' men over three hundred years ago are still standing.

Pushing through the woods with a band of soldiers,

Menendez surprised the French fort and put to death the helpless garrison. Above the mangled corpses this inscription was placed: "Not as to Frenchmen, but as to heretics." When the news of the massacre reached France, a brave Frenchman named Gourges resolved to avenge the deed. He sold his property, purchased ships, and with one hundred and fifty men sailed secretly to Florida. A Spanish fort near the ruins of the former French settlement was surprised and taken, and

its garrison hung from the surrounding trees with this inscription above them: "Not as to Spaniards, but as to murderers." Gourgues did not have enough men to warrant an attack on St. Augustine, so he sailed back to France.

50. Other Settlements.— Before the close of the sixteenth century other Spanish settlements were made at Ysleta,¹ on the Rio Grande, near El Paso, Texas, and at Santa Fé, New Mexico. The gold mines of Mexico and Peru now became so attractive to the Spaniards that they made little effort afterward to extend their explorations or settlements.

51. Extent of Spanish Claims.— By virtue of the discoveries of Columbus and the grant of the Pope, Spain made a general claim to the whole of the continent of America, save Brazil, which she conceded to Portugal (§ 41). A more definite claim was made to the region then known as Florida (embracing all the southern part of the United States) and to the Pacific coast. The Spanish explorers, De Leon, De Soto, Coronado, and others, had traversed this territory and had established, as they claimed, the right of Spain to its ownership. The period of Spanish explorations in North America covered about a hundred years, from 1492 to the close of the next century.

FRENCH EXPLORATIONS.

52. The Newfoundland Fisheries.— When the Cabots returned from their great voyages of discovery, they reported that the northern shores they had visited swarmed with fish to such an extent as sometimes to stay the speed of their ships. The men of Brittany, in France, were hardy sailors and great fisher-

¹ There is some ground for the claim that the settlement at Ysleta was made before that at St. Augustine.

54. The St. Lawrence River.—Cartier, a native Frenchman, on the day known to the Catholics as St. Lawrence Day, entered a gulf which he called the Gulf of St. Lawrence (1535). He ascended the stream now known as the St. Lawrence River, and took possession of the country for the king, of France. On a subsequent voyage he made an unsuccessful attempt to found a colony. Many years afterward the land which Cartier then claimed for his king became the great French stronghold in America.

55. Attempts at Settlement in the South.—The French Huguenots made two unsuccessful attempts to plant colonies: one in South Carolina, the other in Florida. The settlers called the first settlement Carolina in honor of the French King Charles, or Carolus IX. When their provisions were exhausted, they abandoned their fort and sailed back to France. The Florida colony on the St. Johns River was attacked by the Spaniards under Menendez (§ 49), and all the settlers were massacred.

56. The First Permanent Settlement.—Civil wars between Protestants and Catholics so distracted the people of France that it was more than fifty years after Cartier's unsuccessful colony on the St. Lawrence before another attempt was made to establish a French settlement in this region. In 1605, De Monts received from the French king, for the purpose of fur trade, a grant of land lying between the fortieth and forty-sixth parallels (from New Jersey to Nova Scotia). He established a colony at Port Royal (now Annapolis), Nova Scotia. This was the first permanent French settlement in America.

A more important settlement was made three years later (1608) by Champlain at Quebec. The founding of Quebec marks the beginning of French occupancy of Canada. The settlement soon became a city, and was the capital of the French possessions in America.

57. The Great Lakes.—The French fur traders and trappers gradually ascended the St. Lawrence. Keeping on good terms with the Indians, they pushed along the shores of the Great Lakes, until a line of trading-posts was established from the St. Lawrence to Lake Superior. To the heroism of the missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church, the conquest of the vast lake region for France is largely due. Their patient endurance and their self-devotion won the respect and affection

of the Indians, and gave to the French an influence over the savage tribes that was possessed by no other people.



La Salle.

58. The Mississippi Valley.—It was more than a hundred years after De Soto's discovery of the Mississippi before the mighty river was again visited by a white man. The upper course of the stream was finally reached by French missionaries and traders

from the Great Lakes. In 1682, La Salle, an explorer of the Great Lake region, resolved to sail down the Mississippi to its mouth, hoping to discover, by means of the great river, a passage across the continent to India; or, in any event, to establish a fort at the mouth of the river, thus securing control of its commerce as well as possession of the country for his king. Floating down the river with a few companions, he reached the broad bosom of the Gulf of Mexico. La Salle was impressed with the importance of his achievement, as with solemn ceremonies he claimed for the crown of France all the

country drained by the great river and its tributaries. He named the vast region Louisiana, in honor of Louis XIV., the reigning monarch.

La Salle resolved to plant a French colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. Returning to Canada and thence to France, he told his story to the king. Four ships were given him, with men and supplies, to establish the settlement he desired. His little fleet sailed back by way of Florida. By a mistake in reckoning, he missed the mouth of the Mississippi, and landed at Matagorda Bay, on the coast of Texas (1685). After several vain attempts to reach the Mississippi by land, La Salle was assassinated by one of his own men. A settlement made by his followers on the Texas coast perished.

59. Extent of French Claims.—After the failure of the French settlements in South Carolina and Florida, the French claim to the Atlantic coast south of the Penobscot River, based on Verazzani's explorations, was abandoned to other nations. The explorations of Cartier, De Monts, Champlain, La Salle, and the French missionaries and traders gave to France possession of a vast, crescent-shaped region from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Lake Superior, thence down the Mississippi Valley, from the source of the river to its mouth. The French continued their explorations in this territory until their possessions in America were wrested from them by the English in 1763 (§ 202).

ENGLISH EXPLORATIONS.

60. Indifference of the English.—For many years the English lagged behind the Spanish and French in the exploration and conquest of the New World. King Henry VII. lent his encouragement to the Cabots in their voyages to the western lands. But the people of England were disappointed at the failure to find the gold, silks, and spices of India. Moreover,

the Catholic sovereigns of England hesitated to set aside the Pope's decree giving the new continent to Spain. Until the reign of Queen Elizabeth, nearly a hundred years later, no noteworthy attempt at exploration of the western continent was made by the English.

61. Description of the Florida Coast.— Sir John Hawkins was an English sailor and slave-trader, who was knighted by Queen Elizabeth as a reward for his services in a great naval battle with the Spaniards. On one of his slave-trading expeditions he sailed along the whole coast of Florida. This was in the same year as the founding of St. Augustine. Delighted, as Ponce de Leon had been, with the beauty of the country, he wrote a full and careful description of it, and took back with him samples of tobacco, potatoes, and other products of the soil. This was the first account of Florida by an Englishman.¹ Hawkins hoped to draw the attention of his countrymen to this beautiful region, that English colonies might be planted there. Attempting to reach Florida on a subsequent voyage, he was driven by storm to the Mexican coast, where he was attacked by a Spanish fleet, and all but two of his ships were captured or destroyed.

62. Sir Francis Drake and the Pacific Coast.— Sir Francis Drake had served under Sir John Hawkins, and was commander of one of the two ships that barely escaped the Spaniards on the coast of Mexico. From that day he swore vengeance on the subjects of Spain. Setting sail from England with two vessels, Drake attacked one Spanish settlement after another. He landed on the Isthmus of Panama, and

¹ In Hawkins's narrative appears the following quaint mention of the use of tobacco: "The Floridians, when they travel, have a kinde of herbe dried, which, with a cane and an earthen cup in the end, with fire, and the dried herbs put together, do sucke thro the cane the smoke thereof, which smoke satisfyeth their hunger, and therewith they live four or five days without meat or drink."

from near the spot where Balboa made his great discovery, caught sight of the Pacific Ocean. Falling on his knees, he prayed that he might at some time sail a ship on that sea. On his next voyage, with a larger fleet, Drake sailed through the Straits of Magellan and out into the Pacific Ocean.



English Explorations.

Many Spanish ships loaded with treasures from the mines of Peru fell into his hands.¹ Coasting toward the north as far as California, he entered a "convenient and fit harbor" (probably San Francisco Bay). He found the natives very friendly. They insisted on crowning Drake as their king, and he modestly accepted the honor for the queen of England, naming the

¹One treasure-ship alone, captured by Drake, was valued by the Spaniards at three million dollars. The memory of the English "Dragon," as he was called, was detested by the Spaniards for centuries afterward.

country New Albion. He returned to England by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and reached his home in September, 1580. On this long and perilous voyage Drake had inflicted untold injury on his enemies, the Spaniards, had planted the English flag in regions before unexplored, and had made the second circumnavigation of the globe.

63. The Old Problem. — The hope of finding a western route from England to India had not been abandoned. Vespucci, Balboa, and Magellan had proved that America was not a part of Asia. Yet it was for a long time afterward believed that the New World was a group of large islands, and that a passage could be found through them to the Pacific. A Portuguese sailor, Da Gama, at the close of the fifteenth century had rounded the southern extremity of Africa and discovered for his nation a route to India in that way. (See map, p. 24.) Magellan, sailing under the Spanish flag, passed around Cape Horn, and thus opened up to the Spaniards a passage to the coveted land. Ineffectual attempts were made by the English to find a northwest passage around the northern coast of Europe.

64. The Northwest Passage. — In the efforts to find a passage to India around the northern extremity of America, the English took the lead. *Martin Frobisher* made three expeditions with the twofold purpose of finding a northwest passage and searching for gold. He discovered the bay now known as Frobisher's Bay and brought back to England more than thirteen hundred tons of yellowish ore, which proved to be of little value (1576).

Captain John Davis sailed into the strait which now bears his name, but was compelled by the severe weather to return to England (1585).

Henry Hudson entered the great bay whose name now preserves his memory (1610). For eight months his ship was

locked in by ice. A mutiny then occurred, and Hudson with a few companions was set adrift in an open boat and never heard of afterward.

William Baffin, with a crew of seventeen men, coasted along the western shore of Greenland, and (in 1616) entered the great sea since known as Baffin's Bay.

(In 1850 the English Captain McClure discovered a "north-west passage"; the ice, however, makes it useless.)

65. First Attempt at Colonization.—*Sir Humphrey Gilbert* was the first Englishman to secure a charter¹ for colonizing the New World. He made two unsuccessful expeditions with this purpose, the first in 1578. On his second voyage, five years later, he took possession of Newfoundland, but, meeting with disaster, started homeward without making a settlement. The ship in which he sailed went down in a storm with all on board. He had refused to return in a larger vessel, remarking to the captain, "It is as near to Heaven by sea as by land."

66. Second Attempt at Colonization.—*Sir Walter Raleigh* was a favorite of Queen Elizabeth. He obtained a charter for colonizing all the country between the parallels of thirty-five and forty-five degrees (from South Carolina to Nova Scotia), and fitted out two ships for an exploring expedition to find a suitable location. The queen positively forbade him to join the expedition himself, as she was unwilling for her favorite



Raleigh.

¹ A charter is a paper signed by the king, conferring certain powers of government.

to risk his life in "dangerous sea-fights." His vessel landed at Roanoke Island on the coast of North Carolina (1584). The men were charmed with the magnificent trees, the abundant grapes, and the fertility of the soil. They carried back glowing accounts of the adaptability of the country for settlement.

67. Settlements on Roanoke Island.—The country was named Virginia, in honor of Elizabeth, the Virgin Queen. Before the close of the century Raleigh made two attempts to establish a settlement. The first colony remained a year on Roanoke Island and then, provisions giving out, returned to England in one of the ships of Sir Francis Drake, who happened to be coasting that way. The second expedition set sail for Chesapeake Bay, but also landed on Roanoke Island (1587). No communication was had with England by the little colony for three years. Finally, when relief was sent to them, the settlement was in ruins and no traces of the colonists could be found. Whether they had been murdered by the Indians or had wandered into the wilderness to starve is not known.

Raleigh, having spent a large fortune in these unsuccessful enterprises, was compelled to abandon the colonization of Virginia. He wrote to a friend, however, "I shall yet live to see it an English nation." Although his efforts at colonization were failures, yet he had drawn the attention of his countrymen to Virginia as a region adapted to settlement. The founding of the first permanent English settlement in America, twenty years later, was partly the result of Raleigh's labors.¹

¹ From his returned colonists Raleigh learned the use of tobacco, and introduced it at the English court. The custom of smoking or "drinking" tobacco, as it was called, soon became general in England. Raleigh also planted some specimens of the potato on his Irish estates, and thus brought this important article of food into general use. See § 61, footnote.

68. Third Attempt at Colonization.—*Bartholomew Gosnold* in 1602 sailed from England in a small ship with twenty-three persons, eleven of whom expected to remain and establish a colony. He took the most direct course across the Atlantic—between the northern route of the Cabots and the southern pathway of the Spaniards—thereby shortening the distance a thousand miles (§ 37). Coasting along the shores of New England, he loaded his ship with sassafras and cedar. A quarrel arose among his men, and all idea of a settlement was abandoned. Returning to England, his cargo was seized by Sir Walter Raleigh, because the expedition had been undertaken without his consent and in violation of his “patent” or grant to Virginia (§ 66).

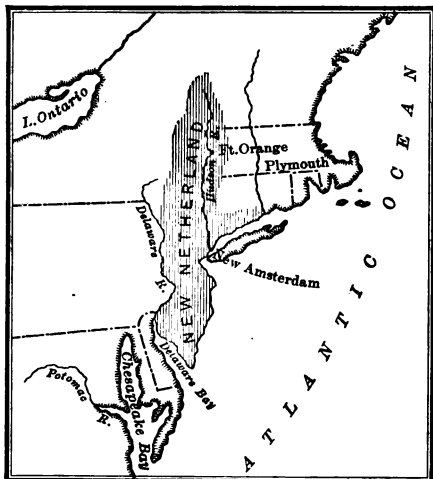
69. First Permanent English Settlement.—A commercial company, known as the “London Company,” obtained from King James I. a grant to the region embraced in Raleigh’s former patent. In 1607, a settlement was founded by this company at Jamestown, on the banks of the James River, in Virginia. This was the first permanent English settlement in America. (For full account see §§ 80–82.)

70. Extent of English Claims.—The discoveries of the Cabots and the subsequent explorations of English sailors gave England a claim to the eastern coast of North America from Labrador to Florida. The western boundary of this territory was not defined. The English claim extended indefinitely, and was limited only by the extent of the continent. Queen Elizabeth made no attempt to establish her title to the Pacific coast based on the explorations of Sir Francis Drake. The period of English exploration begins with Hawkins and Drake, in the last part of the sixteenth century. English explorations and settlements in the eastern part of the present limits of the United States went hand in hand, and continued to near the middle of the eighteenth century.

EXPLORATIONS OF THE DUTCH.

71. Holland in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.

—It was more than a hundred years after the discovery of America when the Dutch began their explorations in the New World. In the beginning of the seventeenth century the long



Dutch Explorations.

and bloody struggle to free Holland from Spanish tyranny came to a close, and the independence of the Netherlands was established. In an age of bigotry and persecution, Holland established religious freedom in her borders and became a refuge for the oppressed of other lands. Entering upon a career of prosperity, she now became one of the

richest nations in the world. The genius and bravery of her naval captains gave her fleets the command of the ocean. Half the commerce of Europe was carried in her ships. Her great trading companies began to extend their operations around the globe.

72. The Hudson River.—Sir Henry Hudson,¹ an Englishman, after making two voyages in a vain search for a north-east passage to the Pacific Ocean, left the service of his countrymen and entered the employ of a Dutch trading company.

¹ The same Hudson who afterward discovered Hudson's Bay, and perished in its waters (§ 64).

In the Dutch ship "Half Moon," he started on the track of his former voyages, with the same purpose in view. Stopped by the ice off the northern coast of Norway, he turned toward the west, hoping to find the looked-for passage in that direction. In 1609, he entered New York Bay, and sailed up the waters of the majestic river which now bears his name. Arriving at the present site of Albany, and seeing no prospect of reaching the western ocean, he returned.

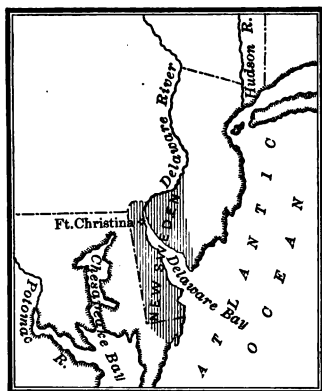
73. Subsequent Explorations and Settlement.—Dutch sailors explored the coast from Delaware Bay to Cape Cod. Trading-posts were established, and a profitable fur trade with the Indians was begun. In 1623 thirty Dutch families, sent over by the Dutch West India Company, established themselves on Manhattan Island, the present site of New York City. The settlement was named New Amsterdam, and became the capital of the Dutch colony. About the same time a settlement was made at Fort Orange (Albany). The Dutch continued to establish trading-posts in the present limits of New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey.

74. Extent of Dutch Claims.—The Dutch claimed the valley of the Hudson River, and the country explored by them from Delaware Bay to Cape Cod. In honor of the mother country, they named this region New Netherland. The period of Dutch exploration and settlement, beginning with Henry Hudson, 1609, continued for about fifty-five years, when the territory controlled by this people was surrendered to the English (§ 168).

THE SWEDES IN AMERICA.

75. Settlement.—Sweden, the home of the ancient Northmen, had but a small share in the colonization of the country that her daring sailors had visited so many centuries before.

The Swedish King, Gustavus Adolphus, the ablest monarch of his time, realized the commercial advantage to be derived from a Swedish settlement in the New World, and resolved to establish a colony in America. The brave king was killed in battle,



Swedish Explorations.

but his plan of a Swedish settlement was carried out. In 1638, a settlement was made in the present State of Delaware, near the site of Wilmington, and was called Christiana, in honor of the infant queen, daughter of Gustavus Adolphus.

76. Extent of Swedish Claims.—The Swedes explored the country from the southern cape of Delaware Bay to the falls of the Delaware River, where Trenton now stands.

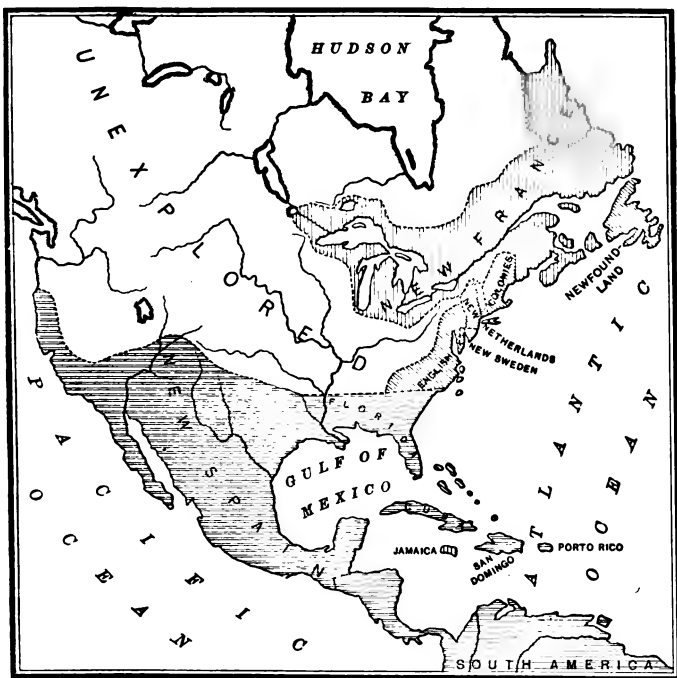
This region, embracing the present State of Delaware and the southern half of New Jersey, was claimed by them, and was called New Sweden. The period of Swedish exploration and settlement was brief, covering about seventeen years. The territory of the Swedes then passed into the hands of the Dutch of New York (§ 167).

77. Summary.—A German printer suggested the name *America*, in honor of Amerigo Vespucci, who had visited and described the coast of Brazil. The name was first restricted to South America, North America being considered part of India.

Within the present limits of the United States, five European nations explored and made claim to territory. Of these the *Spaniards* took the lead. Their explorations, beginning with the voyage of Columbus, extended over a period of about a hundred years, and were devoted to the search for gold rather than the founding of colonies. By men in the service of Spain the Pacific Ocean was discovered, the world was first

circumnavigated, the southern and western portions of the United States were explored and conquered, and the first permanent settlement, St. Augustine (1565), was made.

The *French* explored a portion of the Atlantic coast, and made ineffectual attempts to plant colonies in South Carolina and Florida. French missionaries and traders explored and secured control of the St. Lawrence,



European Claims, 1650.

the Great Lake region, and the Mississippi Valley. Their first permanent settlements were made at Port Royal, N. S. (1605), and at Quebec (1608). For over two hundred years their explorations within the present limits of the United States continued.

The first to discover the mainland of America, the *English* claimed the continent from Labrador to Florida. By an Englishman the second circumnavigation of the globe was made, and the coast of California was

visited. English ships explored the northern shores of North America in the effort to find a northwest passage to India. Two unsuccessful efforts were made to form an English settlement on Roanoke Island, N. C. The first permanent English settlement was made at Jamestown (1607). England, beginning her active explorations many years later than Spain or

1500	1525	1550	1575	1600	1625	1650	1670
COLUMBUS	DE LEON BALBOA MAGELLAN CORTES	DE VACA CORONADO	P. MENDEZ	N. SH	ATTENTION DIRECTED TO GOLD MINES OF MEXICO AND PERU		
FERNANDEZ	VERAZZANO	CARTIER	ATTEMPT AT SETTLEMENT	R. DE NORTON	CHAMPLAIN	TRADERS AND MISSIONARIES ALONG GREAT LAKES AND MISSISSIPPI VALLEY	
CABOT		E. N. G.	HAWKINS	FRISBURY DAVIS DAVIS HALEIGH	I. S. H.	SETTLEMENTS EXTENDED ALONG ATLANTIC COAST	
				ROBERT LOUIS CO. HUDSON	BARTIN		
					HUDSON	DUTCH COL.	
						SETTLEMENT	
						SWEDEN	
						DUTCH CONQUEST	ENGLISH CONQUEST

Chart of Discoveries and Explorations.

France, continued them through her colonists nearly two centuries, or until the independence of the United States was won.

The *Dutch* explored and claimed the valley of the Hudson, and the coast from Cape Cod to Delaware Bay. Their explorations in this region continued about fifty years, until the English conquered it from them. They established their first settlement on Manhattan Island, the present site of New York City (1623).

The *Swedes* made a settlement at Fort Christiana, at the mouth of the Delaware River (1638). They claimed the present State of Delaware and the southern part of New Jersey, but were overcome by the Dutch of New York seventeen years after their first settlement.

78. Thought Questions.—How do you account for Spain's outstripping other nations in the exploration of the New World? Has Spain any possessions in America to-day? Mention some European nations that took no part in the colonization of America. What motives chiefly influenced the Spanish explorers? The French? The English? The Dutch? The Swedes? Which nation was especially successful in its dealings with the Indians? Can you explain why? What nation was first to prove that the New World was not part of India? How was this done? What can you say of the power of the Pope at that time? What discoveries were the result of an effort to find a passage to India? In what instance did religious bigotry lead to a settlement? What discoveries and explorations were made by Italians? What memorial of Sir Walter Raleigh remains in our geographical names? What were the causes of the failure of the first attempts at settlement by the English? Show how the European claims overlapped each other. Copy on blackboard the chart of discoveries and explorations.

TOPICAL ANALYSIS (EXPLORATIONS AND SETTLEMENTS).

- AMERICUS VESPUTIUS:** 40. { Explorations.
Name of continent.
- SPANISH EXPLORATIONS.** { 41. **Spain's Advantages.** { Discoveries of Columbus.
Decree of the Pope.
42. **Ponce de Leon.** { Purpose of voyage.
Discovery and fate
43. **Balboa.** { Discovery.
Claim.
44. **Magellan.** { Voyage.
Results.
- 45, 46. **De Soto.** { Conquest of Florida.
Discovery of Mississippi.
Fate.
47. **Cortez, Coronado, etc.** { Mexico.
California.
48. **De Vaca:** Journey through Texas.
49. **Menendez.** { Purpose of voyage.
Settlement.
Conflict with Huguenots.
50. **Other Settlements.**
51. **Territory Claimed.**

FRENCH.

- 52. **Fishermen.** { Coasts frequented.
Results.
- 53. **Verazzani.** { Coast explored.
Claim.
- 54. **Cartier:** River discovered.
- 55. **Huguenots.** { Settlement in South Carolina.
Settlement in Florida.
- 56. **De Monts and Cartier.** { First permanent settlement.
Quebec founded.
- 57. **Traders and Missionaries.** { Region claimed for France.
Heroism of missionaries.
- 58. **La Salle.** { Discovery of mouth of Mississippi.
Attempt to plant settlement.
- 59. **Territory Claimed.**

ENGLISH.

- 60. **Indifference of English:** Causes.
- 61. **Hawkins:** Description of Florida coast.
- 62. **Sir Francis Drake.** { Hatred of Spanish.
Pacific coast visited.
Circumnavigation of globe.
- 63. **Water Route to India.** { Success of Portugal.
Success of Spain.
Attempts of English.
- 64. **Efforts to find a Northwest Passage.**
- 65. **Gilbert.** { Secures charter.
Attempts at settlement.
- 66, 67. **Raleigh.** { Charter.
Voyage of exploration.
Attempts at settlement.
- 68. **Gosnold.** { Route.
Attempt at settlement.
- 69. **London Company.** { Grant obtained.
First permanent settlement.
- 70. **Territory Claimed.**

DUTCH.

- 71. **Holland in 16th and 17th Centuries.**
- 72. **Hudson.** { Purpose of voyage.
River discovered.
- 73. **West India Company:** Settlement.
- 74. **Territory Claimed.**

- SWEDISH.** { 75. **Gustavus Adolphus:** Settlement planned by him.
76. **Territory Claimed.**

THE COLONIAL PERIOD.

FOUNDING AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES.

79. The True Beginning of Our History.— In the establishment of the first permanent English settlement in America, we find the true beginning of our country's history. All that comes before this has been preparatory—like the clearing off of stones, trees, and undergrowth from a piece of land preparatory to building a house. Adventurous sea captains, daring soldiers, enterprising traders, and gold hunters have passed and repassed before our eyes in the preceding pages. Now the scene changes, and the curtain rises upon the log-cabin home of the settler with its background of growing crops. Heretofore Spaniards and Frenchmen have been the most conspicuous figures; now Englishmen are to play the leading part. We shall see how the courage, endurance, and genius for self-government of these Englishmen overcame every obstacle and wrested from other nations the control of the continent.

THE SOUTHERN COLONIES.

VIRGINIA.

80. The Founders of Virginia.— Sixteen years after the disappearance of Raleigh's last colony on Roanoke Island, a movement was begun that resulted in the first permanent English settlement in America. Two men stand out prominently as the leading spirits in this enterprise,— the one already famous as a sailor and explorer, the other as a soldier and adventurer. Their names were Bartholomew Gosnold and John Smith.

Captain Gosnold, we have already learned (§ 68), made the first direct voyage across the Atlantic, and sailed along the New England coast. He was now eager to plant a colony in the milder climate farther South.

Captain John Smith was both writer and fighter, and one of the greatest adventurers in an adventurous age. While yet a boy he left his home, and enlisted as a private soldier in the wars of Holland. Joining the forces against the Turks, he was captured and made a slave. He killed his master and escaped



Captain John Smith.

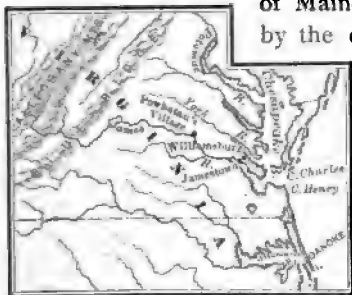
to Russia, and thence when only twenty-five years of age, returned by way of Germany, France, Spain, and Morocco to England. The Virginia enterprise drew Smith and Gosnold together, and they became warm advocates of the scheme for establishing a colony.

81. The London Company.—The expensive failures of Raleigh had discouraged all attempts at colonizing

Virginia, and no private person was now willing to furnish the necessary means for undertaking another settlement. There were in England at this time, however, several great trading companies that were growing rich from their commerce with distant lands. The success of two of these—the Muscovy Company and the East India Company—induced a number of merchants and prominent men to embark with Gosnold and Smith in a similar enterprise. Accordingly two new companies were organized with authority from the king to establish colonies in America and control the commerce of the new

settlements. These companies were known as the London and the Plymouth Companies, from the residence of their principal stock-holders, and they were granted in equal parts the vast region between the parallels of 34° and 45° , or what is now the southern boundary of North Carolina and the middle of Nova Scotia. The southern half of this grant was given to the London Company, and was called South Virginia; the northern half to the Plymouth Company, and called North Virginia.

82. The First Settlement. — Colonists were sent out by both Plymouth and London Companies the same year (1606). The Plymouth Company attempted a settlement on the coast of Maine, but the place was abandoned by the colonists after the first winter.



Settlements in Virginia.

The London Company was more successful. In the last days of the year, a little fleet of three vessels, under the command of Captain Christopher Newport, set sail down the Thames for South Virginia. Captain Gosnold commanded one of the vessels, and John

Smith was among the passengers. After a stormy voyage they entered Chesapeake Bay, giving the names of the two eldest sons of the king to the capes that guard its mouth. Sailing up the river known to the Indians as the Powhatan, but called by the colonists the James River in honor of their sovereign, they chose a flat peninsula on its northern bank as the place for their settlement. Jamestown was the name these loyal Englishmen applied to their group of huts. The year 1607 marks the date of this, the first permanent English settlement in America — just one hundred and ten years after Cabot's great discovery.

83. The First Colonists.— There were one hundred and five persons in the little company that laid the foundations of Jamestown. More than half of the whole number were “gentlemen” unused to manual labor, — and so were poorly fitted for the rough life of the wilderness. The colonists were either unmarried men or else they had left their wives and children behind. Consequently they did not look upon their cabins as homes in the true sense of the word. Most of them expected to find gold and pearls, and in a short time to return to England loaded with riches.¹ Some were influenced by a desire to convert the Indians; others were fond of adventure, and wished to extend the English dominions in America. All slept under the trees in the pleasant May weather until their log cabins were built.

84. The First Charter.— The form of government of the colonists was as poorly adapted to their surroundings as were the settlers themselves. Queen Elizabeth was dead, and the reign of James I. had begun. King James was called by a wit of the time, “The most learned fool in Christendom,” and the complicated form of government he devised for the first Virginians seems to justify the epithet. Besides the London Company there were to be two governing bodies called “Councils,” one residing in England, appointed by the king, the other, a subordinate Council in Virginia, appointed by the English Council. The Company was empowered to coin money and collect taxes. Perhaps the worst provision was that which required all the products of the colonists to be brought to a

¹ In a popular English play of that period, one of the characters, speaking of Virginia, is made to say: “I tell thee golde is more plentiful there than copper is with us; and for as much redde copper as I can bring I’ll have thrice the weight in golde. Why, man, all their dripping pans are pure golde, and all the chains with which they chain up their streets are massive golde; all the prisoners they take are fettered in golde; and for rubies and diamonds they goes forth in holy dayes and gather ’em by the seashore to hang on their children’s coates and stick in their children’s caps.”

public store-house, and there apportioned by an officer as they were needed. Thus, as no man could enjoy the products of his own labor, there was no reward for industry, and laziness was encouraged.

85. Troubles. — More than once it seemed that the failures at Roanoke Island were to be repeated at Jamestown. The place was low and unhealthy. Malaria arising from the marshy banks of the river caused slow fevers which swept away more than half of the colonists before the first summer was ended. In the beginning of 1608 two more ship-loads of immigrants were sent over by the London Company. The mad search of the newcomers for gold caused the cultivation of the soil to be neglected, while the wretched plan of a "common store-house" encouraged idleness. In the winter of 1609-1610, provisions were entirely ex-



Ruins of Jamestown.

hausted, and the starving colonists began to live on roots and acorns, and skins of horses. One man, driven to insanity, killed his wife for food. The horrid deed was discovered and he was burnt to death as a punishment. Still the suffering continued. The miserable survivors in despair resolved to abandon Virginia and return to England. They buried their

cannon, and embarking in two ships floated down the river and out of sight of the huts of Jamestown. Fortunately before proceeding far they met Lord Delaware with a fleet and bountiful supplies. All returned to the deserted settlement, and the colony was saved. The next year more colonists arrived, and the settlement of Henrico (now Richmond) was founded.

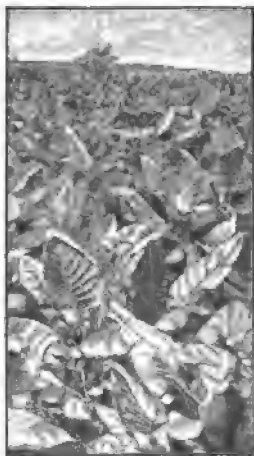
86. The Great Deliverer.—In the perils of the colony during the first two years of its existence, there was one man whose clear head and strong arm repeatedly saved the settlement from destruction. Captain John Smith, under the absurd charge of an attempt to make himself “King of Virginia,” had been at first deposed from his position as a member of the Council by his jealous associates. He demanded a trial by jury, and was triumphantly acquitted, his leading prosecutor being compelled to pay him two hundred pounds damages. Disgusted with the incapacity of their rulers, the colonists finally made Smith president of the Council, and entrusted the management of their affairs to him. “No persuasion,” writes an old chronicler, “could persuade him to starve.” Assembling all the settlers, he addressed the idlers thus: “I protest, by that God that made me, you shall not only gather for yourselves, but for those that are sick; and he that will not work shall not eat.” The stern soldier’s orders were obeyed, and at once there was a change for the better. To supply their immediate wants Smith led an expedition to the most important village of the Indian chief Powhatan, and by force obtained a supply of corn from the Indians. The savages regarded the bold captain with fear and admiration, and as long as he remained in Virginia gave but little trouble.¹ But for Captain John Smith the Jamestown

¹ Tradition says that on one of his exploring expeditions Captain Smith was taken prisoner by the Indians and sentenced to death, but that his life was spared through the entreaties of Powhatan’s little daughter, Pocahontas. This same Indian maiden was afterward married to John Rolfe, one of the settlers. Rolfe and his bride visited England, where “Lady Rebecca,” as Pocahontas was called, was received with honor at the court, and her beauty much admired.

colony would in all probability have perished, and the history of English settlement in America would have been changed.

87. The Indians.—Powhatan was the great chief of the Virginia tribes east of the mountains. The influence of John Smith, and the marriage of the old chief's daughter, Pocahontas, to Rolfe, made Powhatan the firm friend of the whites, and during his lifetime the savages were at peace with the settlers. Under Powhatan's successor, Opechancanough, two plots were formed to destroy the colonists by attacking all their settlements at the same time. The first plot was carried out in 1622, when over three hundred defenseless whites were murdered. The settlers hastily assembled, attacked the savages furiously, hunted them as if they were wild beasts, and drove them far to the frontier. The second massacre came twenty years later. Governor Berkeley raised a troop of horsemen, routed the savages and captured Opechancanough. The old chief was nearly blind from age, and so infirm that he had to be carried on a litter. Yet his mind was vigorous and his spirit unbroken. The governor expected to send the captive chief to England, but he was murdered by one of his guards. After this Virginia had little to fear from Indian attacks.

88. Tobacco Culture. — We have seen how the Indian custom of smoking tobacco excited the wonder of the first English explorers of America (§ 61, footnote). Sir Walter Raleigh made the practice fashionable at the English court, and it soon became general throughout England. The soil and climate of Great Britain were not suited to the growth of the plant, so the fashionable



Tobacco Plants.

English smokers had to depend upon the uncertain crops of the Indians for a supply for their pipes. (Cigars were not known, and tobacco-chewing was rare.) Soon after the Jamestown colony was firmly established, John Rolfe began the systematic culture of tobacco. He succeeded so well, and found such a ready sale for his crop, that Governor Yeardley directed the general attention of the colonists to the production of the plant. Tobacco culture soon became the chief occupation of the Virginians. Every year thousands of hogsheads of the valuable product were exported to England. All other occupations were neglected, and the tobacco industry became an important element in the material, political, and social history of Virginia.

89. The First Assembly and Constitution.—In the first five years of her existence Virginia had three different charters. The third charter abolished the London Council, and allowed the Company to govern their colony directly. A resolution was passed by the Company granting to the Virginians the right to choose for themselves a "General Assembly" to make their laws. Every freeman was allowed to vote, and two "burgesses" were elected from each "plantation," or settlement. The laws of the Assembly were to be approved by the London Company before they could be binding. The first Assembly consisted of twenty-two members. It met at Jamestown, 1619, and was the first law-making Assembly chosen by the people that ever met in America.

Two years later (1621) the colonists were granted a *written constitution*, defining their rights and providing for regular meetings of the Assembly.¹

¹ This first American constitution was the work of Sir Edwin Sandys, one of the ablest friends of Virginia. He had been chosen treasurer of the company against the wishes of King James, who is said to have remarked, "Choose the devil if you will, but not Sir Edwin Sandys."

90. Wives for the Settlers.—The wise heads in the London Company realized that their colony would never succeed as long as the settlers looked wistfully back to England as their home. So the plan was devised of sending out from England numbers of young women as wives for the Virginians, to make homes for them in the wilderness, and thus awaken in the men an interest in the prosperity and good government of the colony. The young women were to be of good character, and the cost of the passage of each (one hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco) was to be paid by the man who chose her as his wife. The damsels, too, were not to be “enforced to marry against their wills.” This curious plan succeeded finely. When the first ship-load of ninety maidens arrived at Jamestown, a crowd of young men and old bachelors who were fortunate enough to have the required amount of tobacco, assembled to greet them. Courtships were made in short order. As soon as a man made satisfactory arrangements with a partner, he paid for her passage, and they were married at once. There was no trouble in finding husbands for all, and the ninety brides were so well pleased that they wrote back home and persuaded sixty more maidens to come over, and make sixty more lonely bachelors happy.

91. The First Slaves.—The same year that marks the meeting of the first Assembly and the beginning of free government in Virginia, was also the beginning of African slavery in this country. In 1619 a Dutch vessel sailed up the James River and offered for sale to the planters twenty negroes captured on the coast of Africa. The slaves were bought and put to work on the tobacco plantations. Their labor was found profitable, and when others were brought over a ready sale was found for them. In a few years slaves were found in greater or less numbers in all the American colonies.

92. Fall of the London Company.—King James did not like the spirit of liberty and opposition to royal power that was displayed in the great meetings of the London Company. He sent a committee to Virginia to inquire into the affairs of the colony. The Assembly refused to submit their records; and when the king's commissioners bribed the clerk to surrender them, the Assembly punished their faithless servant by cutting off his ear. But, as everybody expected, the obstinate king carried his point. The charter was annulled, and the London Company, that had controlled the colony for seventeen years and had laid the foundation of free government, was dissolved. Virginia became a royal colony and passed under the direct control of the king (1624).

93. The "Old Dominion."—About the middle of the seventeenth century Oliver Cromwell led a revolution in England against the authority of the king. The armies of Charles I. (the successor of James I.) were beaten, and the king was tried and beheaded by his subjects. For eleven years England was under the rule of a "Lord Protector" instead of a king, while the late king's son, afterward Charles II., was a wandering exile. During this period many of the king's followers fled to Virginia, among them John Washington, the great-grandfather of George Washington, and also the ancestors of Jefferson, Patrick Henry, the Lees, Randolphs, and other families afterward prominent in history. The sympathies of the Virginians were with the royalists, and these exiles were warmly welcomed. In one of her charters, Virginia was called "His Majesty's Ancient Colony and Dominion of Virginia." For this reason, and because of her loyalty to the exiled monarch, Virginia received the name of the "Old Dominion."

94. Bacon's Rebellion.—Though loyal to the King, the colonists grew more and more discontented with the oppressive

laws of England and the misrule of the governors. During an Indian attack, Governor Berkeley ordered the troops that were ready to march against the savages to disband,—probably because an Indian war would interfere with his profits from their trade. The people chose Nathaniel Bacon, a young and popular planter, as their leader, and without waiting for authority from the governor, they marched against the Indians and defeated them. In the meantime Berkeley declared Bacon and his men rebels. Bacon's party then met and signed an oath to resist the governor and any forces that might be sent over from England, until the king should be informed of the true state of affairs. Civil war followed between the adherents of Bacon and those of the governor. Bacon's party was successful, and the governor was driven out of Jamestown. A new Assembly met and passed a number of laws for the relief of the people. In the midst of his success, however, Bacon died of fever caused by exposure. No leader was found to take his place, and his party fell to pieces. Berkeley returned to Jamestown and, seizing the government, began to take vengeance upon those who had opposed him. King Charles II. finally removed him from office,¹ remarking, "The old fool has taken away more lives in that miserable country than I have for the murder of my father."

95. Settlement of the Valley.—The region between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghany, known as the "Valley of Virginia," was settled by a class of people different from the colonists on the banks of the James. The first wave of immigration into this section came from Pennsylvania, and was composed of Germans and Scotch-Irish, who were attracted by reports of the fertility of the soil. Later, numbers of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, seeking greater religious freedom, came

¹ For thirty-five years Berkeley had been a leading figure in Virginia history, having held the office of governor during the greater part of this time.

from eastern Virginia to the upper valley, and many families were brought direct from Scotland and Ireland. The large tobacco plantations, so numerous east of the mountains, were not found in the valley; so in their manner of life, as in their religion, the Virginians of this section differed from their Church-of-England neighbors across the mountains.

96. Later History of the Colony.—By the close of the colonial period the struggling settlement on the banks of the James had grown to a prosperous colony of over half a million inhabitants. On account of the unhealthfulness of its site, Jamestown was abandoned, and Williamsburg became the capital. This town was founded on the spot where Bacon and his men had taken the oath to resist the king's troops. Its streets were planned in the form of a W and M, in honor of William and Mary. Here William and Mary College, the principal seat of learning in the Southern colonies, was located. Under Governor Spottswood, the pirates of Chesapeake Bay were routed, and their famous leader, "Blackbeard," was killed. Spottswood established the first iron furnace in Virginia, and did much to develop the resources of the colony.

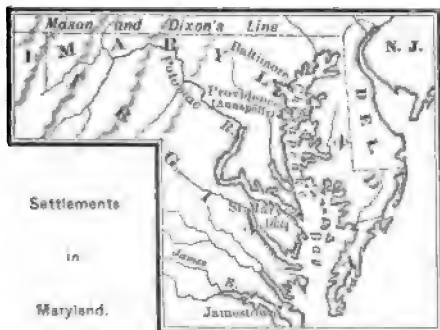
97. Summary.—Virginia, the oldest English colony, was founded at Jamestown in 1607, by the London Company, a mercantile body that wished to extend its trading operations by forming settlements in America. The charter obtained from King James I. provided a wretched form of government. Sickness, starvation, and quarrels brought the settlement to the verge of ruin. John Smith saved the colony from destruction. Young women were brought over from England as wives for the settlers. The importation of needy adventurers ceased, and a stream of immigration from the best classes of England flowed into the colony. The use of tobacco was learned from the Indians, and the culture of the plant became so profitable that it formed the universal occupation of the settlers. In the year 1619, the first colonial assembly met. In the same year the first African slaves were introduced. Seventeen years after the founding of Jamestown King James dissolved the London Company and made Virginia a royal colony. The misrule of Governor Berkeley led to the civil strife

known as "Bacon's Rebellion," which was brought to a close by Bacon's death. Throughout the colonial period Virginia held a leading position among the English colonies.

MARYLAND.

98. Settlement. — Twenty-seven years after the settlement of Jamestown, two English ships sailed into Chesapeake Bay bearing men and supplies for the founding of a new colony north of the Potomac.

They sailed up the broad bosom of the Potomac, entered a small tributary near its mouth, and landing, established their first settlement, which they called St. Mary's (1634). Land was purchased from the Indians, together with



part of the growing crops. The Indian women taught the settlers how to make "hoe-cakes" of corn meal, and the Indian men helped them to hunt the deer. A large proportion of the settlers were laboring men. More fortunate than its Virginia neighbors, the new colony escaped the perils of starvation and Indian massacres, and was soon firmly established.

99. The Founders of Maryland. — These colonists were sent out from England by Cecil Calvert. George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, was a rich English nobleman and a member of the Roman Catholic Church. The Catholics were at that time persecuted in England, and George Calvert wished to found a refuge in America for his brethren. He first tried Newfoundland, but found the climate there too severe. He

then went to Virginia with a number of followers. On his refusal to take the "Oath of Supremacy" (acknowledging the king of England as the head of the Church) the Virginians requested him to leave their colony. Returning to England, he obtained from his friend, King Charles I., a grant to that part of Virginia lying north of the Potomac. The new



George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore.

colony was to be called Maryland, in honor of Henrietta Maria, wife of the king. Just before his charter was issued Lord Baltimore died. His son, Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, carried out his father's plans.

100. The Government of the Colony. — The charter of Maryland contained a more complete grant of power than that of any other colony. The proprie-

tor, as Lord Baltimore and his successors were called, was authorized to make all necessary laws, with the consent of the freemen; and these laws were to be binding without the approval of the English king or Council. The colonists were to be free from taxation by the crown, and were to enjoy all the rights of Englishmen. The king only asked, as a token of allegiance, two Indian arrows every year.

101. Territorial Disputes. — There was much dissatisfaction among the Virginians on account of the fact that the Maryland grant embraced territory included in their charter. William Clayborne, a member of the Virginia Council, had established a trading post on an island in Chesapeake Bay

within the disputed limits. When the Maryland authorities demanded that he should pay for a license to trade, he raised a body of troops and resisted. He was defeated, however, and his property seized. Clayborne fled to Virginia, and afterward went to England to make his complaint to the king. The king, however, decided against him.

After Pennsylvania was founded, a dispute arose between that colony and Maryland as to the boundary between them. The present line was finally agreed upon, and was called "Mason and Dixon's Line," from the two surveyors by whom it was laid off.

102. Religious Troubles. — Though Maryland was founded as a refuge for oppressed Catholics, yet Christians of every denomination were welcomed. Her government was the first in the history of the world under which all Christians possessed equal rights.¹ During Cromwell's rule in England, the government of Maryland passed into the hands of Protestants. Sad to say, they began to persecute the Catholics, and civil war followed. The Protestants under Clayborne, who was now at the head of the Puritan party, were successful, and the Governor of Maryland was compelled to flee from the colony. After the death of Cromwell, Lord Baltimore's authority was again established and religious toleration was restored.

103. Changes in the Government. — In 1692, King William annulled Lord Baltimore's charter, and for twenty-five years Maryland remained a royal colony under the control of governors appointed by the king. The capital was moved from St. Mary's to Providence, afterward called Annapolis in honor of the queen. The fifth Lord Baltimore, having changed his religion, was recognized as Proprietor, and under his son the

¹ In 1638 William Lewis was fined one hundred pounds of tobacco for abusing Protestants, and forbidding his servants to read Protestant books.

old government was reëstablished, and remained in force until the Revolution.

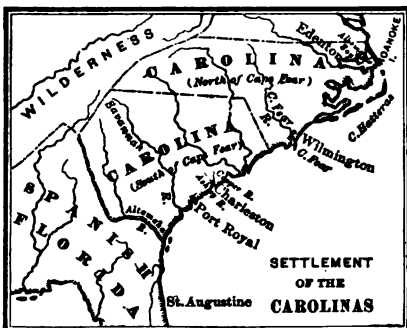
104. Summary. — George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholic nobleman, in order to found a refuge for his oppressed brethren, obtained from the King a grant to that part of the territory of Virginia lying north of the Potomac. The first settlement, St. Mary's, was founded in 1634. The charter was extremely liberal. All Christians were allowed equal rights. William Clayborne of Virginia, with a band of followers, resisted the authority of Maryland over a certain island in the Potomac. War followed between Clayborne's followers and the troops of the Governor. Clayborne was defeated and driven from the colony. Afterward he returned, put himself at the head of the Protestant party, and compelled the Governor to flee. The Protestant rulers then treated the Catholics with great severity. Finally Calvert's authority was reëstablished. King William annulled the charter and for twenty-five years Maryland was a royal colony. Then the fifth Lord Baltimore was recognized as proprietor and the old proprietary government was restored.

NORTH CAROLINA.

105. Settlement. — The first attempts to plant an English settlement in the New World were on the coast of the present State of North Carolina (§ 67). After the failure of Sir Walter Raleigh's last colony, however, this region was for a long time abandoned. About fifty years after the founding of Jamestown, settlers from Virginia made their way through the forests toward the south, and established new homes for themselves on the shores of Albemarle Sound. A colony of Englishmen from the West India Islands a few years later founded a settlement on the Cape Fear River in the southeastern part of the present State (1663).

106. First Proprietors. — This region was embraced in the original limits of Virginia, and the Virginia Assembly asserted their authority over it by issuing grants of land to settlers and trading companies. In 1663, King Charles II., ignoring the

claims of Virginia, gave to the Earl of Clarendon, the Duke of Albemarle, and six other noblemen, as a reward for their faithfulness to him, all the vast region between the present states of Virginia and Florida. The name Carolina had been given by the French (in honor of their King, Charles IX.) to their fort on the South Carolina coast which had been destroyed by the Spaniards (§ 55). The name was retained by the English in honor of King Charles II. of England.



107. The Charter. — The charter of Carolina, as of Maryland, allowed great freedom of action to the proprietors. They could make any laws whatever, provided they were in accordance with the laws and customs of England. A most important provision, however, was that no laws could be passed without “the advice, assent, and approbation of the freemen” or their delegates, who were to be assembled from time to time.

108. The Fundamental Constitutions. — The noblemen who owned Carolina did not believe in giving much power to the common people. With the aid of the philosopher, John Locke, an elaborate plan of government, called the “Fundamental Constitutions,” was prepared for the colony. By these Constitutions the eldest proprietor was made a sort of king of the province. The other proprietors were to be officers with high-sounding titles. There was to be a parliament elected by the people, but it could discuss only such measures as were proposed by the Grand Executive Council appointed by the pro-

prietors. The inhabitants of the colony were to be divided into classes called barons, landgraves, caciques, and commons, and the commons were allowed no share in the government.

109. Effect of Misgovernment. — From the first, the colonists regarded the Fundamental Constitutions as unsuitable and oppressive. They claimed that according to the charter their consent was necessary to any change of government. Yet for twenty-five years the proprietors vainly attempted to enforce their absurd plan upon the settlers. Moreover, the governors appointed by the proprietors were nearly all tyrannical and worthless men. The result of so much misrule was to give the people a contempt for all government, and to retard the growth of the colony.

110. A Royal Colony. — For about seventy years North Carolina and South Carolina were considered one colony, although each had a separate governor and assembly. The proprietors, after a long struggle with their obstinate colonists, finally abandoned the Fundamental Constitutions and allowed the settlers to govern themselves according to the charter of Charles II. In 1729, the proprietors sold all their rights to the King, and North and South Carolina became royal provinces.

Summary. See § 116.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

111. Settlement. — In the southern part of the immense region known as Carolina, two rivers, the Ashley and the Cooper, flowing through a fertile and lovely district, unite their waters just before reaching the sea. On the western bank of the first named of these streams, two ship-loads of immigrants, sent out from England by the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, landed and began to build their future homes (1670).

The new settlement was named Charleston, in honor of the English king. A few years later it was removed to the strip of land between the Ashley and the Cooper rivers, the present site of the city of Charleston.

112. The Settlers. — The first settlers of Charleston were a mixed population, including English, Irish, Scotch, French, and Germans. On account of religious persecution at home,



Rice Harvest.

large numbers of French Protestants, known as Huguenots, came to the colony. These were intelligent, orderly, industrious, and religious, — an excellent class of immigrants.

113. Rice-Culture. — A sea captain returning from a voyage to Madagascar gave some rice seed to one of the colonists. The seed were planted, and the climate and soil proved to be admirably adapted to rice production. A machine for husking the seed having been invented, rice culture soon became a leading occupation of the people...

114. Troubles with the Spaniards and the Indians. — The Spaniards at St. Augustine regarded the settlers of South Carolina as intruders upon their territory. In 1686 a combined force of Spaniards and Indians attacked and destroyed an English settlement at Port Royal. Some years later, the South Carolinians made an expedition against St. Augustine,

in which they burned the town but failed to take the fort. Troubles with the Spaniards and their Indian allies continued until the new colony of Georgia was formed between South Carolina and the hostile Spaniards.

115. Government of the Colony.— At first South Carolina was governed as part of Carolina. The “Fundamental Constitutions” met the same resistance from the southern colonists that it did from their northern neighbors. In 1711, the people of South Carolina rose against the rule of the proprietors, and invited their governor to hold his office in behalf of the king. On his refusal, they chose one of their own number governor, and proceeded to control the government as a royal colony. The king approved their action. In 1729, North and South Carolina were finally separated, and both were declared royal provinces.

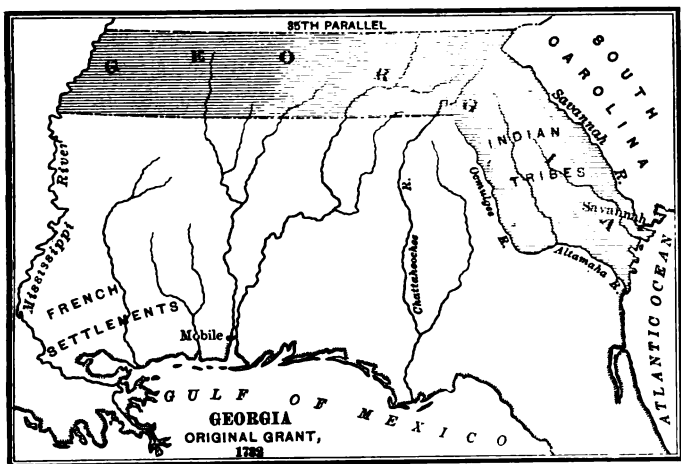
116. Summary, the Carolinas.— In 1663, King Charles II. granted to the Earl of Clarendon, the Duke of Albemarle, and other noblemen the vast region lying between Virginia and Spanish Florida (including a part of what was then the territory of Virginia). A short time before this grant was made a few colonists from Virginia and some Englishmen from the West Indies had made settlements on Albemarle Sound and Cape Fear River. In 1670, Charleston was founded by settlers sent by the proprietors direct from England. The northern and southern parts of Carolina were allowed each a separate governor and Assembly. There was much misgovernment, especially in the northern colony. The introduction of rice-culture added prosperity to South Carolina. The Spaniards and Indians of Florida were a source of danger to the southern colony until Georgia was founded. About seventy years after the first settlement, North Carolina and South Carolina were separated and both became royal colonies.

GEORGIA.

117. The Territory of Georgia was originally part of the Carolina grant. When South Carolina became a royal province, the Savannah River was made its southern boundary, the country between that stream and Spanish Florida being re-

tained by the king as "crown lands." George II. granted the region lying between the Savannah and Altamaha Rivers to their sources, thence due west to the Pacific, to James Oglethorpe and a company of "trustees," who named their proposed colony Georgia in honor of the king.

118. The Founders of Georgia. — At that time the English jails were full of people who were imprisoned because they



could not pay their debts. James Oglethorpe was a brave soldier and member of parliament who was touched with pity for the sufferings of the debtors. He induced others to join him in raising a fund for transporting the better class of these debtors to America, where they would be able to make homes for themselves and to begin life anew. So much interested was he in his unselfish enterprise, that he came to America himself, cheerfully gave his money, and bravely endured every danger in the interest of the colony.

119. First Settlement. — Oglethorpe obtained his grant from the king in 1732 (the same year that Washington was

born). He came over with his colonists, and the next year founded the city of Savannah on a bluff overlooking the Savannah River.

120. Growth and Government of the Colony.— Besides the English debtors large numbers of persecuted German Protestants came to Georgia. All laws were made by the trustees,



James Oglethorpe.

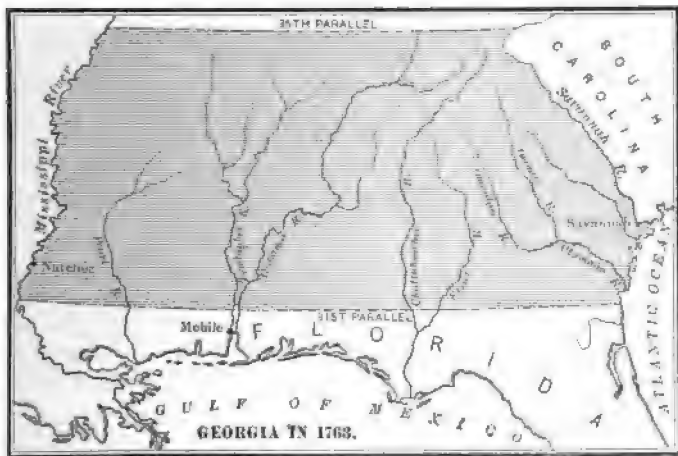
and the colonists were allowed no share in the government. Religious toleration was granted to all save Roman Catholics. Slavery was prohibited and the importation of rum forbidden. However, the government of the trustees was unpopular, and in 1752, Georgia became a royal

colony. Oglethorpe was very successful in his dealings with the Indians. Tomochichi, a neighboring chief, like Powhatan in Virginia, and Massasoit in Massachusetts, was the firm friend of the whites.

121. Preaching of the Wesleys and Whitefield.— The brothers John and Charles Wesley accompanied Oglethorpe to Georgia, the former as missionary of the English Church. For three years John Wesley faithfully ministered to the settlers and Indians, undergoing every hardship in his laborious mission. Returning to England, he and his brother Charles became the founders of the Methodist Church. George Whitefield

joined them, and succeeded John Wesley as missionary to Georgia. Whitefield was a pulpit orator of wonderful power. His clear, musical voice could be heard distinctly by an audience of twenty-five thousand people. He traveled through the colonies from Georgia to Massachusetts, preaching in the open air to vast crowds and exerting a powerful influence wherever he went.

122. Troubles with the Spaniards. — The Spaniards of Florida constantly threatened the destruction of the Georgia



settlements. There were invasions and counter-invasions until the close of the French and Indian War (1763) when Spain gave up to England all Spanish territory south of the Altamaha River. The limits of the colony of Georgia were then extended to include the present states of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi.

123. Summary. — Georgia, the youngest of the original thirteen colonies, was founded by James Oglethorpe as a refuge for the unfortunate debtor class of England. The territory of the colony lay between the

Savannah and Altamaha Rivers. In 1733 the first settlement was made at Savannah. The Wesleys and George Whitefield visited the colony and exerted a great influence by their preaching. Twenty years after the founding of Georgia, Oglethorpe's "trustees" surrendered their rights of government, and the colony passed under the immediate control of the king. There were occasional conflicts with the Spaniards on the south, until Florida was ceded by Spain to England. The territory of Georgia was then extended west and south to the Mississippi.

124. Thought Questions.—Account for the gradual loss of prominence of the Spanish in American history. Why were the Swedes and Dutch so slow in attempting settlements? What points of superiority over all their competitors did the English possess in the struggle for possession of the continent? In what sense was Raleigh the founder of Virginia? What motive actuated the London Company in their colonization enterprise? What rights were granted to the Virginians by this company? What ideas resembling that of a "common store-house" are held in modern times? Show that they are as foolish to-day as they ever were. What do you think of John Smith's rule that "he who will not work, shall not eat"? In what ways did the profitableness of tobacco culture influence Virginia history? Was Bacon a rebel? What do you think of the justice of his course? Why were the "Scotch-Irish" so called? How did the Virginians regard the first settlers of Maryland? What motives led to the founding of Maryland? How did it happen that two colonies were formed in Carolina? Compare the condition of debtors to-day with their condition 150 years ago. What resemblance is there between the circumstances of Oglethorpe's founding of Georgia and Baltimore's founding of Maryland? What difference do you notice?

Fill out the following table for Southern colonies :

COLONY.	First Settlement.	Date.	By Whom Founded.	Religion of First Settlers.	Motive of Founders.
Virginia . .	Jamestown	1607	London Co.	Church of England	Commercial gain.
Maryland . .					
N. Carolina .					
S. Carolina .					
Georgia . . .					

TOPICAL ANALYSIS (THE SOUTHERN COLONIES).

VIRGINIA.

- 79. **A New Epoch.** { A glance backward.
A glance forward.
- 80. **Gosnold and Smith.** { Past history.
New plan.
- 81. **Trading Companies.** { Plymouth Company.
London Company.
- 82. **Settlements.** { By Plymouth Company (failure).
By London Company (success).
- 83. **Jamestown Colonists.** { Condition.
Expectations.
- 84. **First Charter.** { Numerous "Councils."
Public store-house.
- 85. **Settlement Abandoned.** { Sickness.
Starvation.
Lord Delaware's arrival.
- 86. **Services of John Smith.**
- 87. **The Indians.** { Pocahontas and Powhatan.
Opechancanough's plots.
- 88. **Tobacco Culture.**
- 89. **Government.** { Three charters.
First Assembly.
First Constitution.
- 90. **Permanency Assured.** { Homesickness of settlers.
Peculiar plan of the Company.
- 91. **The First Slaves.**
- 92. **The King's Interference.** { His opposition to the London Company.
Action of Virginia Assembly.
A royal colony.
- 93. **Royalist Emigration.** { Civil war in England.
Exiles welcomed to Virginia.
- 94. **Bacon's Uprising.** { Origin.
Strife.
Result.
- 95. **Settlement of the Valley.**
- 96. **Later History.** { Growth.
Williamsburg.
Gov. Spotswood.

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|----------------------------|---|---|---|
| MARYLAND. | { | 98. First Settlement. | |
| | | 99. Founders of the Colony. | { George Calvert's object.
Attempts at colonization.
Cecil Calvert. |
| | | 100. The Charter. | { Authority of the proprietors.
Privileges of colonists. |
| | | 101. Territorial Disputes. | { With Virginians.
With Pennsylvania. |
| | | 102. Religious Troubles. | { Rule of Catholics.
Rule of Protestants.
Civil war. |
| | | 103. Changes in Government. | { Made royal colony.
Proprietary government restored. |
| NORTH
CAROLINA. | { | 105. Settlement. | { Raleigh's attempts.
Albemarle Sound.
Cape Fear River. |
| | | 106. Carolina. | { The proprietors.
The grant of territory.
The name. |
| | | 107. The Charter. | { Authority of the proprietors.
Rights of the colonists. |
| | | 108. Fundamental Constitutions. | { Author.
Provisions. |
| | | 109. Misgovernment. | { The Constitutions.
Conduct of Governors.
Result. |
| | | 110. Later History. | { Carolina divided.
A royal colony. |
| SOUTH
CAROLINA. | { | 111. Settlement. | { Location.
Name. |
| | | 112. Settlers. | { By whom sent.
Mixed population. |
| | | 113. Rice Culture. | |
| | | 114. Contests with the Spanish in Florida. | |
| GEORGIA. | { | 115. Government. | { Uprising of the colonists.
A royal colony. |
| | | 117. The Territory. | { Limits of the grant.
Name. |
| | | 118. The Founder. | { The man.
His object.
His self-sacrifice. |

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|---------------------------------------|---|---|--|
| GEORGIA
<i>(continued).</i> | { | 119. The First Settlement. | |
| | | 120. Growth of the Colony. | { The Indians.
{ Government of the Trustees.
{ A royal colony. |
| | | 121. Preaching of the Wesleys and Whitfield. | |
| | | 122. Troubles with the Spaniards. | { Invasions from Florida.
{ Fla. surrendered to England. |

THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES.

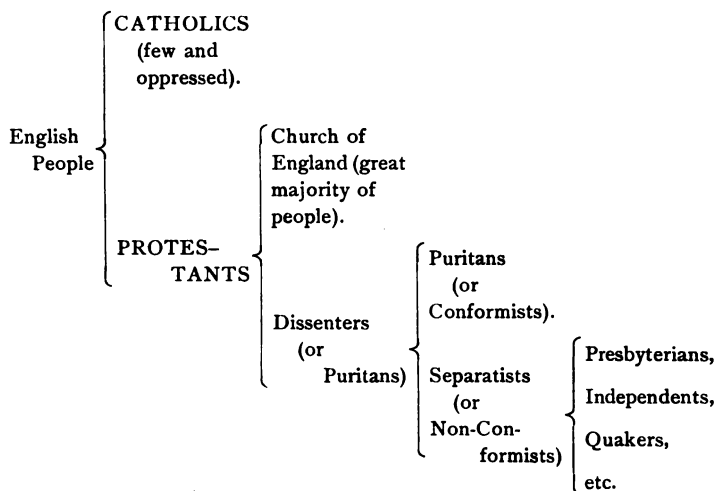
MASSACHUSETTS.

Within the present limits of Massachusetts there were once two colonies, known as the Plymouth Colony and the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

1. PLYMOUTH COLONY.

125. Religious Classes in England. — At the beginning of the seventeenth century the people of England were divided according to religious belief into two great classes: the *Roman Catholics*, who in times past had controlled the government, but now were comparatively few in number and were oppressed by unjust laws; and the *Protestants* (so called originally because they protested against some of the beliefs and practices of the Catholics), who were now the ruling class. But the Protestants were themselves divided. The great majority of them, including most of the rich and the nobility, were members of the Church of England, whose ministers were appointed and supported by the government. Among the Protestants, however, there were many who objected to certain forms and observances of the English Church. Those who carried their opposition so far as to establish separate churches were called Separatists, while those who preferred to remain in the English Church but wished to see it changed in some forms and doctrines ("purified" as they said) were known as Puritans.

Draw on blackboard: —



126. The Founders of the Plymouth Colony. — In the next year after Jamestown was founded, a little congregation of Separatists, unwilling to give up their religious belief and unable longer to endure the persecutions to which they were subjected, fled from England and sought a home in Holland § 71). Here they remained for a number of years undisturbed. But they were still Englishmen, and it grieved them to see their children, by intermarriage with the Dutch, gradually forget their language and religion, and become absorbed in a foreign nation. Their thoughts turned to America. In the wilds of the New World they hoped to find a refuge, where, free from alien influences, they could worship God as they chose.

127. Difficulties in the Way. — These exiled Englishmen decided on the northern part of the vast region then called Virginia as the best place for their new home. But two great

difficulties were in the way of the undertaking; the permission of the English authorities to make a settlement in their American possessions had to be secured, and means had to be provided to pay the expenses of the enterprise. The London Company was favorable, but the king hesitated to promise them freedom of religion. At last they secured a "patent"¹ from the Company with only the indirect assurance from the king "that he would connive at them and not molest them, provided they carried themselves peaceably." London merchants agreed to furnish the means, on condition that for seven years the proceeds of all labor should go to a common fund, and at the close of that period there should be an equal division of houses, lands, and goods between the merchants and colonists.

128. The Voyage to America. — Under William Brewster, an elder of their church, a large part of this Separatist congregation set sail from Holland in a small ship called the Speedwell. They sailed first to England, where they found a larger vessel, the Mayflower, hired for their use. Here a number of friends joined them. The two ships started out on their western voyage together, but the Speedwell was soon found to be too leaky to proceed, and returned to England. The Mayflower continued on her course alone, and after a voyage of nine weeks, in November, 1620, came in sight of the shores of Cape Cod.

129. Settlement of Plymouth. — The "Pilgrims," as these wanderers were called, intended to settle near the mouth of the Hudson, the northern limit of the Virginia Company, but

¹ Plymouth, unlike her neighboring colonies, never had a charter from the King. Her attempts to secure one were defeated by religious opposition in England, and jealousy of adjoining colonies in America. The company called "the Governor and Council of Plymouth" had a charter giving them the powers of government. This company granted a "patent" to the colonists and their friends which allowed them only the rights to settle and trade.

stormy weather and the opposition of the ship's crew forced them to make a landing on the coast which they first reached.



Several weeks were spent in exploring the shores of Cape Cod Bay in search of a suitable place for settlement. Finally a small harbor, known on Captain John Smith's map as Plymouth, was chosen. Here they found "divers cornfields and little running brooks, a place very good for settlement." It was December 21, 1620, when the landing was made and the settlement begun.

130. Government.— Finding themselves outside the limits of the Virginia Company, whose grant they held, the colonists, before landing, drew up and signed the following paper as a basis of their government:

"In the name of God, amen: We, whose names are under-written, the Iopall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James . . . haveing undertaken for pe glorie of God and advancemente of pe Christian faith, and honour of our King and countrie, a vopage to plant pe first colonie in pe Northerne parts of Virginia, doe solemnly and mutuall in pe presence of God and one of another, covenant . . . to enacte, constitute, and frame such just and equall lawes . . . as shall be thought most meete and convenient for pe generall good of pe Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

John Carver was chosen governor for the first year.

131. Early Years.— There were one hundred and two persons in the company that disembarked from the Mayflower. This number included eighteen men accompanied by their

wives, sixteen single men, twenty boys, eight girls, three maid-servants, and nineteen men-servants or hired workmen. They built log houses, using oiled paper for window-glass. The winter which soon set in was bitter cold, and half of the colonists died before it was over. Yet when the Mayflower sailed back to England in the spring, not one of the survivors returned. During the first four years the colonists often suffered from hunger, their chief dependence for food during this period being corn purchased from the Indians, together with clams and fish.

132. Development of Plymouth Colony. — The next year after the settlement additional colonists arrived, and by 1630 the number had increased to three hundred. The first ship-load of immigrants brought a patent from the "President and Council of New England," — a new corporation that had taken the place of the old Plymouth Company. The plan of putting all earnings in a common stock proved as unsatisfactory here as it was in Virginia, and was soon abandoned. The London partners in the "patent," failing to receive the large profits they expected, sold out their shares to the colonists. Although they were still subject to the new Plymouth Company, they became, by this change, more independent of England than before, and were able to dictate what sort of immigrants should be admitted. Governor Carver having died the first winter, William Bradford was chosen governor. With the exception of five years when he declined to serve, Bradford was reelected every year until his death, thirty-six years later.

133. Captain Standish and the Indians. — Learning of an Indian plot against the neighboring settlement of Weymouth, Captain Miles Standish with eight men was sent to investigate the matter. Standish was "a man of very little stature, yet of a very hot and angry temper." Finding himself one day in the

same cabin with the hostile chief and several of his braves, he gave a signal to his men to close the door. Then snatching a



The Miles Standish House, Duxbury, Mass.

knife from one of the Indians, a desperate conflict followed, in which the chief conspirator and two other Indians in the room were killed, and one was taken prisoner. This bold act of Captain Standish alarmed the savages and their plot was broken up.

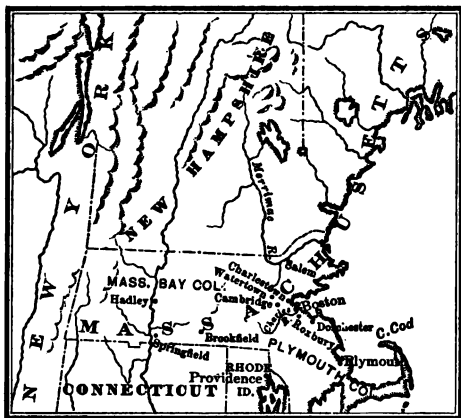
Afterward a treaty of peace was made with Massasoit, chief of the nearest Indian tribe, which lasted fifty-four years.

134. Union with Massachusetts Bay Colony. — After a separate existence of seventy years, the Plymouth Colony, in 1691, was united to the neighboring more populous and wealthy colony of Massachusetts Bay. In the new charter the name Massachusetts was applied to the colonies thus united.

II. MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY.

135. Settlement. — In 1628, six prominent English Puritans obtained from the Council for New England a grant of land extending from three miles north of the Merrimac to three miles south of the Charles. This "patent" embraced a strip of land about sixty miles wide, extending westward to the Pacific Ocean, which was then thought to be not much farther distant than the Hudson River. John Endicott, one of the six "patentees," with about one hundred colonists, made a settlement the same year at Salem, on the Massachusetts coast.

136. The Charter. — The next year the proprietors of this grant obtained a charter from King Charles. The object of the leaders was to establish in America a refuge from the oppression to which the Puritans were subjected in England. Yet it was thought best to say nothing about religion in the charter, and the enterprise was apparently for trading purposes. The stockholders were allowed to elect annually a governor, deputy-governor,



and eighteen assistants. Endicott acted as first governor. Soon the entire company moved to Massachusetts, bringing their charter with them. This was a bold and popular move, as it gave the *people* in the colony as members of the company a right to govern themselves.

137. Growth of the Colony. — New immigrants came in rapidly, and the colony of Massachusetts Bay soon surpassed its neighbor Plymouth both in wealth and population. Besides Salem, six other towns were established, of which Boston, founded in 1630 by Governor Winthrop, was the most important and became the seat of government. The colonists were originally Puritans, not Separatists, and as such adhered to the Church of England. But their independent position in civil matters and the influence of the Plymouth settlers led them to establish a separate church government.

138. Religious Disturbances.—The settlers of Massachusetts had braved the hardships and dangers of the New World in order to enjoy undisturbed their own religion. They were jealous of other sects, and refused to allow members of any other faith than their own to gain a foothold in the colony. *Roger Williams*, a talented young Separatist minister, gave them a good deal of trouble by his peculiar beliefs and the eloquence with which he advocated them. He opposed



The Church in which Roger Williams Preached in Salem. It is still standing.

enforced attendance on church, and claimed that the government should not interfere with matters of religious belief. He was ordered to return to England, but fleeing southward he took refuge among the Indians and founded the colony of Rhode Island.

Mrs. Anne Hutchinson delivered public lectures in the colony, in which she urged, among other doctrines, that not an upright life, but a direct inward revelation proved a person to be saved, and that any one "justified" and "sanctified" was absolutely free from sin. Her teachings caused great excitement and gained many adherents. They were looked upon by the stern Puritans as dangerous to public morals, and she was banished from the colony.¹

139. The First Slave Ship.—The first American slave ship was built at Marblehead, Massachusetts, in 1636. It was used

¹ Mrs. Hutchinson was kindly received in Rhode Island by Roger Williams. Afterwards, having removed to New York, she was killed in an Indian massacre.

for transporting to this country slaves captured on the coast of Africa. Two years later this ship brought her first cargo of negro slaves into Massachusetts. This was the beginning of an extensive and profitable trade by which slaves were carried in New England ships to all the English colonies.

140. Indian Troubles.—Massachusetts, in common with her sister colonies, was engaged in two bloody Indian wars, the Pequod War and King Philip's War. These are described later (§§ 156–160).

141. The Witchcraft Craze.—The stern religious life of the Puritans and the intensity of their convictions led to a ready acceptance of the supernatural. In the latter part of the seventeenth century belief in witchcraft, which had long been accepted in the Old World, reached a climax of fanaticism in New England, and hurried the people into deeds of cruelty and bloodshed. In 1684, Rev. Increase Mather published a book called "A Record of Illustrious Providences," containing an account of the cases of witchcraft that had already occurred and describing the characteristics of the "deviltry" of the witches. A few years later the children of John Goodwin of Boston claimed to have been bewitched by an Irish servant-woman, against-whom one of them had a spite. Among other symptoms, they barked like dogs, mewed like cats, and were struck dumb at the sight of the Shorter Catechism. The so-called witch was tried, convicted, and hanged. At Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692, a witchcraft craze seized the people. Twenty persons were executed as witches, hundreds were imprisoned, and a reign of terror prevailed. Rev. Increase Mather, then President of Harvard College, was a leading spirit in the prosecutions. He was heartily supported by the governor and highest judges of the colony. At last the people returned to their senses, and, after a few years had passed,

Massachusetts appointed a fast-day for the "errors into which magistrates and people had been led by Satan and his instruments."

142. Period of Oppression. — In 1678, the king's lawyers gave it as their opinion that the charter of Massachusetts had been forfeited by the failure of her government to enforce the navigation laws of England. Petitions and remonstrances of the colonists were of no avail. A few years later (1684) the charter was declared to be null and void. The colony was left absolutely subject to the king, and the people were deprived of all their political rights. Sir Edmund Andros was appointed governor of New England. This tyrant levied taxes on his own authority, and declared that all lands belonged to the crown; the colonists could establish their title only by paying fees to the royal officials. This despotic government continued until the news of the overthrow of King James reached Massachusetts. The people then rose against their rulers, put Andros in jail, and reëstablished their old government.

143. Plymouth Joined to Massachusetts Bay. — As before related, the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay were united in one colony in 1691. The province of Maine and the territory of Nova Scotia were included in the new colony, henceforth known as Massachusetts. The new charter of 1692 provided that the governor should be appointed by the king, and all acts of the legislature were to be sent to England for approval. The religious qualification for voters was no longer continued, but a property qualification was required.

144. Summary. — A congregation of English Separatists, to escape persecution in their native land, fled to Holland. Dissatisfied here, they resolved to settle in America. They obtained a patent from the London Company, and sailing by way of Plymouth, England, landed in 1620 on the Massachusetts coast. They named their settlement Plymouth. Finding themselves outside the territory of the London Company, they obtained a

patent from the Council for New England (successors to the Plymouth Company). John Carver was chosen as their first governor, and Miles Standish was their leader against the Indians.

Eight years later John Endicott and other prominent English Puritans obtained from the Council for New England a grant of territory lying north of Plymouth. Settlements were made at Salem, Boston, and other places. Endicott obtained from the king a charter designating his colony the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and giving to himself and his associates the powers of government. The "stockholders" having all moved to Massachusetts, the colony became a self-governing commonwealth. Roger Williams and Mrs. Hutchinson were banished on account of their religious teachings. Two Indian wars caused great loss of life and property. During the "witchcraft craze" many innocent persons were imprisoned and put to death. In 1678 the king annulled the charter of Massachusetts Bay Colony, and for five years the people were under the despotic rule of Governor Andros.

In 1691 Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay were united in one colony, known as Massachusetts. The population and wealth of Massachusetts gave her a preëminence among the Northern colonies corresponding to that of Virginia in the South.

CONNECTICUT.

145. Settlement.—The Dutch settlers of New York and the Plymouth colonists both established trading posts on the Connecticut River at an early date; but the real founders of the Connecticut colony came from Massachusetts. In 1635 John Winthrop, the younger, built Fort Saybrook at the



mouth of the Connecticut River. The next year Hartford was founded by Thomas Hooker, a Puritan minister, who had marched through the woods from Massachusetts with his entire

congregation. John Davenport, another minister, with a company of immigrants, settled New Haven.

146. Union of the Settlements.—Around the towns of Hartford and New Haven as centers, numerous settlements sprang up. For a while there were three colonies, Saybrook, Connecticut, and New Haven. In a few years these were reduced to two by the union of the Saybrook and Connecticut colonies. The Connecticut colony was conspicuous for the liberal and democratic government established by its people. The New Haven colony was less tolerant in religious matters. After a separate existence of about thirty years the New Haven colony was absorbed by Connecticut. The three original colonies were thus reduced to one.

147. The Charter.—The charter of Connecticut, which was obtained through the efforts of Winthrop, gave a great



The Charter Oak.

deal of liberty to the people, allowing them to elect all their officers. Consequently they prized it highly, and when the English government demanded the surrender of their charter, they put off compliance until Andros with a large escort came to Hartford

to enforce the king's order. Andros held a conference in the evening with the governor and council of the colony. Tradition says that the lights in the room were suddenly extinguished,

and the charter was hidden in a hollow oak-tree. Andros, however, took control of affairs, and for a few years the charter government was overthrown. With the downfall of Andros (§ 162) the old charter (or a duplicate) was brought from its concealment, the government under it was reorganized, and continued in force until the Revolution.

148. Summary. — The first settlers of Connecticut came from Massachusetts. Settlements were formed at Hartford by Thomas Hooker, and at New Haven by John Davenport. For a time three colonies existed, the Connecticut colony, the New Haven colony, and the Saybrook colony. Finally these were combined into the Connecticut colony. The charter of Connecticut was liberal in its provisions, and was much prized by the people. During the period of Andros's rule over New England the charter government of Connecticut was overthrown, but was restored with the downfall of James II.

RHODE ISLAND.

149. Settlement. — When Roger Williams was driven from Massachusetts (§ 138), he fled southward through the woods, and with a few followers established a settlement which he called Providence at the head of Narragansett Bay (1636). The following year a party of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson's followers made a settlement on an island in the bay, afterward known as Rhode Island. These settlements and others near them were subsequently united under the name of "The Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations."

150. Government. — Roger Williams declared that in his colony no one should ever be disturbed on account of his religious belief. The settlers were chiefly refugees from other colonies. They were independent thinkers in politics as well as in religion, and they did not get along peaceably together. For twenty-seven years there were quarrels between the different settlements with only a weak government over them. Finally a charter was secured which united the different settle-

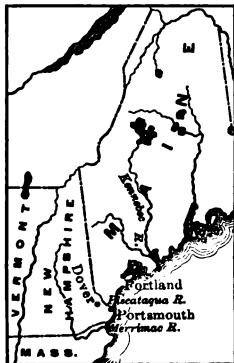
ments, granted entire religious freedom, and allowed the people to elect their own officers.

151. Separate Position. — Rhode Island was the first colony to establish the great principle of complete religious freedom.¹ Because of her independent position in religion, as well as on account of her unsettled government, Rhode Island was viewed with suspicion and dislike by the other New England colonies, and was not allowed to join the New England Confederation (§ 157).

152. Summary. — Rhode Island was founded by Roger Williams, who, when banished from Massachusetts, established the first settlement at Providence in 1636. The next year a party of Mrs. Hutchinson's followers settled "Rhode Island," in Narragansett Bay. Roger Williams enforced the great principle of religious freedom, and his colony became a refuge for the oppressed. The government of Rhode Island was at first turbulent and unsettled. Finally a charter was obtained uniting the different settlements. After this better order prevailed.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

153. Some of those who suffered from religious persecution in the older New England colonies, went to New Hampshire, where settlements had been made as early as 1623. The population in this colony increased very slowly, owing to confusion in land titles and disputes about government. It was too weak for independence and was several times united to Massachusetts; it finally became a separate colony in 1741. New Hampshire had no charter, but was subject directly to the king. Vermont was claimed as part of her territory.



¹ Maryland gave equal freedom to all *Christians*.

154. Summary. — New Hampshire was settled by immigrants from other New England colonies. Its growth was slow. In 1741 it became a separate colony, subject directly to the king.

NEW ENGLAND AS A WHOLE.

155. Close Relation of the Colonies. — The region embraced by the colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire was first called "New England" by Captain John Smith, on a map of his explorations. The "Council for New England," to whom the land was granted in 1620, adopted the name in their title. The early history of these colonies is in many respects similar. We have seen that Massachusetts was the parent colony of all the others. The character, occupation, and religion of the settlers, their mode of local government, their dangers, and their interests, were much the same.

The following topics relate to events which to some extent affected all these colonies.

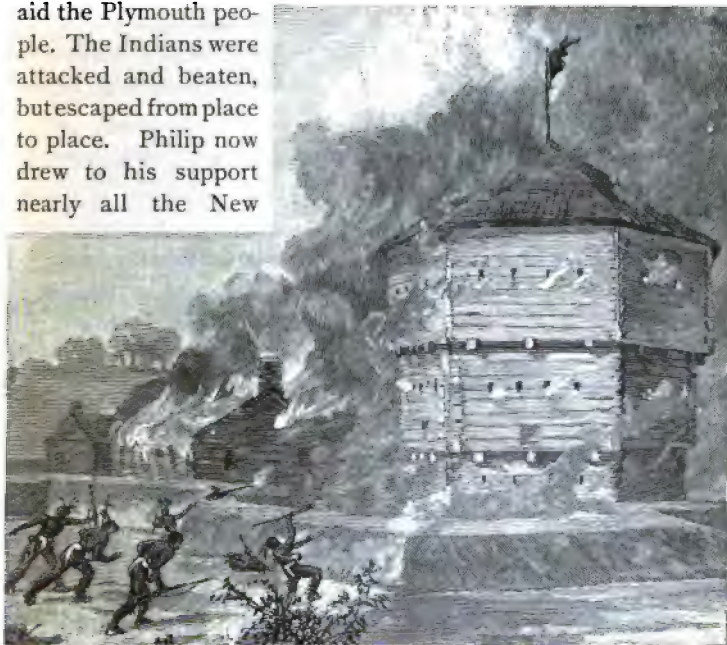
156. The Pequod War. — The Pequods, one of the strongest and fiercest Indian tribes of New England, came in contact with the settlers in the Connecticut valley, soon after the first settlements were made in that region. They tried to get the help of the powerful Narragansetts of Rhode Island, but through the influence of Roger Williams, the Narragansetts refused aid. The weak Connecticut people, in their distress, appealed to Massachusetts. A little army of five hundred men was raised by the two colonies. Under Captain John Mason, they attacked the leading Pequod village on the Mystic River in Connecticut. The Indians were completely routed, and seven hundred, including women and children, were slain, and two hundred taken prisoners. The captives were sold as slaves, and the great tribe of Pequods was extinguished.

157. The New England Confederation. — The Pequod War taught the colonies the advantage of union in time of danger. In 1643, Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven determined upon a permanent Confederation to be known as "The United Colonies of New England."¹ The object of the Confederation was to gain better protection against foreign and domestic enemies. Each colony was left perfectly free to manage its own internal affairs, while external matters pertaining to the good of all were entrusted to eight commissioners, two chosen by each colony. This is important as the first confederation of British colonies in America. It lasted more than forty years. Besides affording protection against the Indians it brought the New England colonies into closer sympathy with each other, and showed the other colonies the advantages of union.

158. King Philip's War ; Cause. — On the death of Massasoit, who for so many years had been a friend of the whites, his eldest son, Alexander, became chief of the tribe of Wampanoags, who lived near the head of Narragansett Bay. As Alexander was suspected of plotting against the settlers, a company of men from Plymouth surprised him in his hunting lodge, and took him prisoner. This insult made the proud Indian furious. He was seized with a dangerous fever, from which he died soon after his release from captivity. His brother, Philip, succeeded him as chief. Philip possessed unusual ability and wielded a great influence over the New England tribes. He hated the whites and awaited an occasion for an outbreak. When three Indians of his tribe were accused of murder, found guilty, and put to death by the colonists, Philip called his warriors to arms, and a bloody war began (1675).

¹ For exclusion of Rhode Island see paragraph 150.

159. Battles and Massacres.— One Sunday as the people of the village of Swanzev in the Plymouth colony were returning from church, they were attacked by the savages and a number of them were killed. Troops were sent from Massachusetts to aid the Plymouth people. The Indians were attacked and beaten, but escaped from place to place. Philip now drew to his support nearly all the New



Indians attacking a Settlement.

England tribes and the war spread into all the colonies. According to a secret plot, a number of different settlements were attacked at the same day and hour. Hadley, Massachusetts, was surprised while the people were at church. In the fight that followed it is said that a strange man with long beard rushed to the front, rallied the hard-pressed colonists, and led them to victory. This was Goffe, the "regicide," one of the judges who had condemned King Charles I. to death,

and who, having fled to America, was living in concealment among the Puritans of Massachusetts. In a Rhode Island swamp a severe battle was fought with the Narragansetts, in which the savages were completely defeated. Philip's allies began to desert him. His wife and little son were captured. "My heart breaks!" he cried, "I am ready to die." He was at last shot by a faithless Indian. By his death, the power of the Indians was broken.

160. Results of King Philip's War. — King Philip's War was the severest blow the New England colonies suffered. The struggle lasted two years, and while it resulted in the complete overthrow of the Indians, yet it was long afterward before the colonies recovered from the losses which it caused. Over six hundred men were killed. Thirteen towns were destroyed, six hundred houses were burned, half a million dollars worth of property was destroyed, and a heavy debt was contracted, requiring the taxes to be greatly increased.

161. The Great Revival. — A reaction against the stern theology of the early days began in New England during the early part of the eighteenth century, and there was much looseness of religious belief and conduct. Then followed a period of intense religious excitement, known as the "Great Awakening." Beginning in the church of Jonathan Edwards, in Massachusetts, the revival reached its highest point in 1740, under the preaching of George Whitefield. There were conversions in nearly every town in New England. Many, however, objected to the great excitement that accompanied the revival. Controversies followed, and a division in the churches was the result. There was much difference of opinion as to the general good effect of the revival. It certainly exerted a great influence upon subsequent religious thought in New England.

162. New England under One Governor. — King James II. made Sir Edmund Andros governor of all the New England

colonies, afterward adding New York and New Jersey to his jurisdiction. The charters were either taken away or declared annulled, and Andros ruled in a most despotic manner. When the people of England banished King James, the New England colonists immediately followed their example by deposing Governor Andros. The colonies were then allowed to resume their old forms of government.

163. Summary.—A close relation existed among the New England colonies. Important events that affected one, affected all. The war with the Pequod Indians originated in Connecticut. Massachusetts came to the aid of her sister colony and the savages were completely routed. The New England Confederation, formed for mutual defense against the Indians, included all the New England colonies except Rhode Island and lasted forty years. King Philip's War began in Massachusetts. There were numerous battles and massacres, resulting in great loss to the colonists. At last Philip was killed, and the power of the Indians overthrown. Under the preaching of Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield, there was a memorable religious awakening in New England. King James II. placed all the New England colonies under one governor. When King James was banished by his subjects, the old colonial governments were restored.

164. Thought Questions.—Is there any persecution on account of religion in the United States to-day? Do you know of any religious intolerance? What circumstances of their history make the intolerance of the colonists seem inexcusable? What explanation can you offer for their conduct in this respect? Compare John Smith and Miles Standish? Why did the Plymouth Colony have a patent instead of a charter? Why did Massachusetts Bay Colony outstrip Plymouth? How was slavery regarded 250 years ago? Does slavery exist anywhere to-day? Why did Connecticut prize her charter so highly? What colonies may be considered off-shoots of Massachusetts? Fill out the following table :

COLONY.	First Settlement.	Date.	By Whom Founded.	Religion of First Settlers.	Motive of Founders.
Mass.	{ Plymouth Salem	1620	Brewster and others	{ Separatist Puritan	Religious freedom.
Connecticut . .		1628	Endicott and others		
Rhode Island .					
New Hampshire					

TOPICAL ANALYSIS (NEW ENGLAND COLONIES).

MASSACHUSETTS.

PLYMOUTH COLONY.

- 126. **Founders of Plymouth.** { Their religion.
Flight from England.
Dissatisfaction with their new home.
- 127. **Looking toward America.** { Authority to form settlement.
Means for the voyage.
- 128. **The Voyage.** { The ships.
First land seen.
- 129. **Settlement.** { Failure to reach destination.
Landing and settlement.
- 130. **Government.** { Agreement signed.
First governor.
- 131. **First Colonists.** { Classification.
Sufferings.
- 132. **Growth of Colony.** { New immigrants.
New patent.
London stockholders.
- 133. **Capt. Standish:** Successful dealings with Indians.
- 134. **Union with Massachusetts Bay Colony.**

MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY.

- 135. **The Beginning.** { Founders.
Patent.
Settlement.
- 136. **Government.** { Purpose of founders.
Charter.
Removal of stockholders to America.
- 137. **Growth of Colony.** { New settlements.
Church government.
- 138. **Religious Disturbances.** { Roger Williams.
Mrs. Hutchinson.
- 139. **First Slave Ship.**
- 140. **Indian Wars.**
- 141. **Witchcraft.** { Belief in witches.
Increase Mather's book.
Persecutions.
Repentance of the people.
- 142. **Period of Oppression.** { Charter annulled.
Rule of Andros.
- 143. **Union with Plymouth.** { Territorial limits.
New charter.

CONNECTICUT.	{	145. Settlement.	{ Dutch trading posts. Saybrook, Hartford and New Haven.
		146. Union of Settlements.	
		147. The Charter.	{ Its liberal nature. Demand for its surrender. The Andros government.
RHODE ISLAND.	{	149. Settlement.	{ Providence. Rhode Island.
		150. Government.	{ Roger Williams' views. Disturbances. Charter.
		151. Relations with other New England Colonies.	
NEW HAMPSHIRE.	{	153. Settlement.	
		Growth.	
		Separate Colony.	
NEW ENGLAND AS A WHOLE.	{	155. Relation of the Colonies.	{ Name, "New England." Common interests.
		156. Pequod War.	{ Attack on Connecticut settlers. Position of the Narragansetts. Overthrow of Indians.
		157. New England Confederation.	{ Object. Management. Importance.
		158, 159, 160. King Phillip's War.	{ Cause. Battles and massacres. Results.
		161. The Great Revival.	{ Origin. Climax. Results.
		162. The Andros Government.	{ N. E. under one governor. Old governments restored.

THE MIDDLE COLONIES.

NEW YORK.

165. Settlement.—All the colonies thus far considered were settled by people of English birth. New York, however, owes its settlement to the Dutch. By virtue of Henry Hudson's dis-

covery, the Dutch claimed the Hudson River valley, together with the entire region between the Delaware Bay and Cape Cod, which they called New Netherland. At first, trade was the sole object of the Dutch, and no attempt at settlement was made, though "trading posts" were established on the banks of the Hudson and on Manhattan Island. The Dutch West India Company obtained control of New Netherland, its charter bidding it "to advance the peopling of those fruitful



New York in 1656.

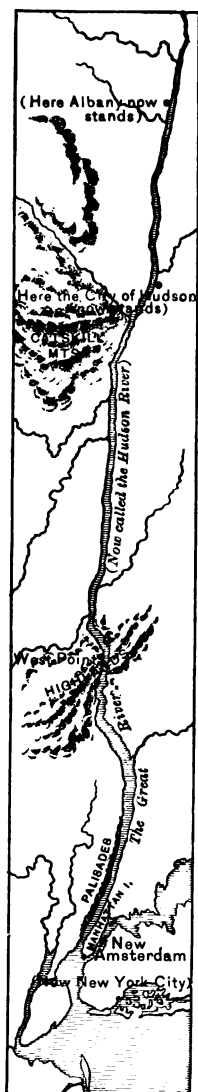
and unsettled parts." In 1623 this corporation established settlements at Fort Orange (Albany) and at New Amsterdam (New York).

166. The Patroons. — To encourage immigration vast tracts of land were given to any member of the West India Company who should introduce a colony of fifty persons. The owners of the immense landed estates thus formed were called "patroons." They exercised almost absolute power over their tenants, and their domains were like little independent states. When the Dutch lost New York the rule of the patroons was overthrown, yet for nearly two hundred years the heirs of the old patroons continued to collect rents from the occupants of the lands.

167. Dutch Government. — The Dutch were usually mild in their treatment of the Indians, and were very successful in trading with them. All of Manhattan Island where New York City now stands was purchased for trinkets worth about twenty-four dollars. Like Virginia, in her early history, New Netherland was governed by a trading corporation. The governors of the colony, appointed by the Dutch West India Company, were all more or less incompetent and tyrannical. Peter Stuyvesant, the last of the four Dutch governors, was honest and energetic, but high-tempered and imperious.¹ He was frequently engaged in quarrels with the settlers of Connecticut. At the head of a small army, he marched against the Swedish settlers on the Delaware, and compelled them to submit to Dutch authority.

168. Fall of the Dutch Power. — England claimed New Netherland on the basis of Cabot's discoveries, and she was unwilling that the Dutch should possess the land and thus separate her New England and Southern colonies. In 1664, an English fleet was sent against New Amsterdam. The town was unprepared for defense, and

¹ An Assembly was chosen without Stuyvesant's approval. It met and issued an address to the governor, asking that the people be allowed a larger share in the government. The haughty Stuyvesant replied: "We derive our authority from God and the West India Company, not from the pleasure of a few ignorant subjects," and refused to grant the request.



the citizens were tired of the tyranny of their governors; so in spite of Governor Stuyvesant, who raged and swore at his people for refusing to make any resistance, New Amsterdam and all New Netherland were surrendered to the English. The entire region was presented by the king of England to his brother, the Duke of York. In honor of the new proprietor, the name *New York* took the place of the Dutch names for the colony and its chief town. After nine years of English rule a Dutch fleet appeared in the harbor and compelled New York to surrender. For one year the Dutch rule was restored. Then a treaty was made between Holland and England by which New Netherland was finally transferred to the English.

169. English Rule. — New York continued to suffer much from bad governors. When the Duke of York became king of England (James II.), he appointed Sir Edmund Andros governor of all New England and New York. (§ 162.) The rule of Andros was unpopular with the people. When the news of the downfall of King James was received, the deputy governor of New York abandoned his post and fled to England.¹ The colonists of New York, like their New England neighbors, then took control of the government. Captain Jacob Leisler acted as governor until the king's wishes could be known. On the arrival of a new governor from England, Leisler was tried for treason, and was convicted. Governor Slaughter, while drunk at a dinner party, was induced by the enemies of Leisler to sign his death-warrant. New York remained a Royal province until the Revolution.

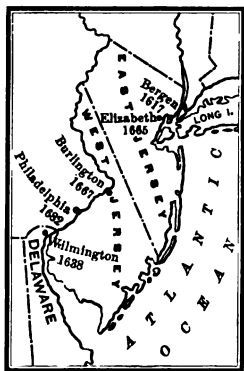
170. Summary. — By virtue of Henry Hudson's explorations the Dutch claimed the territory from Delaware Bay to Cape Cod, and called it New Netherland. They soon began a brisk fur-trade with the Indians, and for this purpose established trading posts on Manhattan Island and on the upper Hudson. The Dutch West India Company obtained a grant to the

¹ Andros himself was then in Boston.

New Netherlands, with authority to form settlements, direct the government, and control the trade of the settlers. Under the mild rule of the Dutch many emigrants from neighboring English colonies and from various European countries were attracted to the colony. Governor Stuyvesant conquered the Swedes on the Delaware, and brought them under Dutch authority. England, claiming New Netherland on the basis of Cabot's discoveries, sent a fleet against New Amsterdam, 1664, and the town and all New Netherland surrendered to the English. The entire region was presented by Charles II. to his brother, the Duke of York, in whose honor the name of New York took the place of the Dutch names for the colony and chief town. Nine years later New York was recovered by the Dutch, to be held by them only one year, when it was finally transferred to the English. James II. appointed Andros governor of all New England, New York, and New Jersey. When the news of the downfall of King James came, the Andros government was overthrown, and the colonists of New York took control of affairs with Jacob Leisler acting as temporary governor. On the arrival of the new king's governor, Leisler was tried for treason and executed. New York remained a Royal province until the Revolution.

NEW JERSEY.

171. Settlement.—The lands between the Delaware and the Hudson had been claimed by the Dutch, the Swedes, and the English. This country was a portion of the grant made to the Duke of York in 1664, and he gave it to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. Carteret had been governor of the Island of Jersey off the coast of England, so the grant was called New Jersey in his honor. Under a nephew of Sir George Carteret as governor, a settlement was made at Elizabethtown in 1665.



172. The Colony Divided.—Disputes soon arose between the proprietors and the inhabitants, and Berkeley, thoroughly dissatisfied, sold his interest to a party of Quakers. A division was then

made into East and West Jersey. The Eastern portion was given to Carteret, while the western portion was left to the Quakers. After the death of Carteret, Penn and his associates bought East New Jersey, and the Quakers established a liberal government there like that in their western colony.

173. East and West Jersey United. — King James II. took away from the proprietors of both colonies the rights of government, on the ground that the inhabitants were guilty of smuggling. The disgusted proprietors soon afterward surrendered all their claims to the crown. East and West Jersey were then (1702) united as a royal colony. Although considered a separate colony, New Jersey was not allowed a governor of its own until 1738. During this period the colony was under the administration of the governor of New York, who ruled through a deputy.

174. Summary. — The territory between the Delaware and the Hudson was a portion of the grant made to the Duke of York in 1664, and he gave it to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. A settlement was made at Elizabethtown, 1665. Berkeley sold his interests to a party of Quakers. A division was then made into East and West Jersey, the eastern portion given to Carteret and the western to the Quakers. Penn and his associates bought East New Jersey, and the Quakers established a liberal government. James II. took away from the proprietors of both colonies the rights of government. They soon after surrendered all their claims to the crown, and East and West Jersey were united as a Royal colony (1702). Still, for thirty-six years New Jersey was not allowed a governor of its own, but was under the governor of New York, who ruled through a deputy.

PENNSYLVANIA.

175. The Quakers. — Among the persecuted sects of England during the seventeenth century, none were more harshly treated than the Quakers. These people believed that the teachings of Christ should be followed literally in all things; hence they refused to swear, even in a court of justice, nor

could they be induced to fight under any circumstances. In conversation they used the terms "thee" and "thou." Considering all men absolutely equal, they declined to take off their hats as a mark of respect. They believed that all forms, ceremonies, and written creeds should be avoided. They opposed dancing, theaters, and all public shows. They objected to a paid ministry, and held that any one might preach "when the spirit moved him."

176. The Founder of Pennsylvania.—

William Penn was a wealthy Quaker who desired to find a refuge in America for his oppressed brethren. The king owed Penn's father a large sum of money. He agreed to give young Penn forty thousand square miles west of the Delaware for the



William Penn.

debt. The grant was called Pennsylvania (Penn's woods).

177. Settlement.— In 1681 Penn's first colonists were brought over. The next year Penn himself joined them, and founded the capital city on the west bank of the Delaware. He called it Philadelphia (brotherly love), after a city mentioned in the New Testament.

178. Growth of the Colony.— The growth of Pennsylvania was rapid. The colony was well governed from the first; no

religious persecution was allowed ; the Indians were fairly treated, and remained on good terms with the settlers. Thou-



Penn's Slate-Roof House.

sands of English Quakers flocked to the colony, likewise large numbers of Irish and German immigrants. Before the beginning of the Revolution Philadelphia was the largest town in all the col-

onies. Penn and his heirs continued to govern the colony until the close of the colonial period.

179. Summary.— The king of England gave William Penn, a wealthy Quaker, forty thousand square miles west of the Delaware in payment of a debt which he owed Penn's father. The grant was called Pennsylvania. In 1681 the first colonists were brought over, and Philadelphia was founded. The colony was well governed ; no religious persecution was allowed ; the Indians were fairly treated, and large numbers of Quakers, and Irish and German immigrants flocked to the colony. Penn's heirs continued to govern the colony until the close of the Colonial period.

DELAWARE.

180. Settlement.— Soon after the founding of New Amsterdam, the Dutch made a settlement in Delaware, which was destroyed by the Indians a few years later. The first permanent settlement was made by the Swedes at Wilmington in 1638.

181. Conflicting Claims.— The territory was in turn under the control of the Swedes, the Dutch, and the English. When the English authority was established, Delaware, along with New Jersey and New York, was granted to the Duke of York.

The duke transferred the territory of Delaware to William Penn, who wanted an outlet to the sea for his colony. Delaware then became a part of Pennsylvania.

182. A Separate Province. — Her people were not satisfied with the union, however, and Penn finally allowed them a separate Assembly. In 1703 Delaware was recognized as a separate province, although she still remained under the same governor as Pennsylvania.

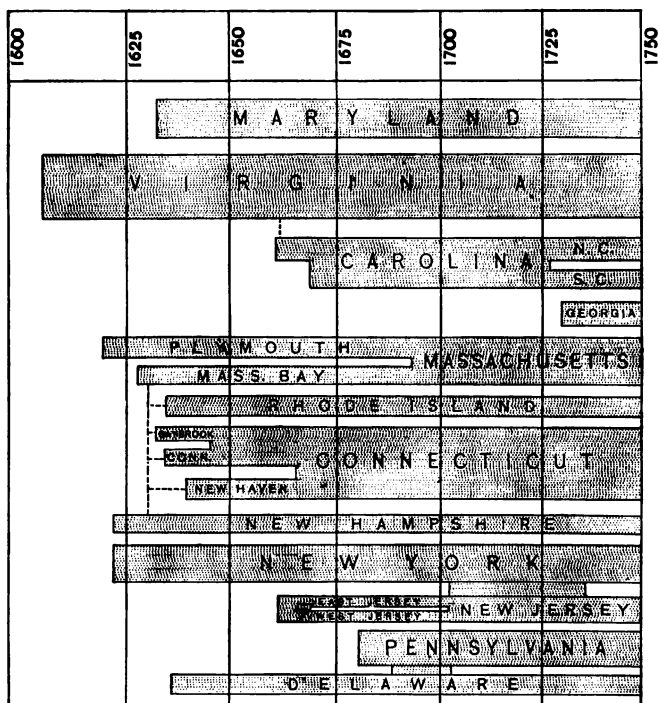
183. Summary. — The first permanent settlement was made by the Swedes in 1638. The territory was in turn under the control of the Swedes, the Dutch, and the English. Delaware was a portion of the grant made by King Charles II. to the Duke of York. It was transferred to William Penn, and became a part of Pennsylvania. The people of Delaware were not satisfied with the union, and Penn allowed them a separate Assembly. In 1703 Delaware was recognized as a separate province, but remained under the same governor as Pennsylvania.



184. Thought Questions. — What made the situation of New Amsterdam favorable for trade? What two colonies owed their first settlements to great trading companies? What colonies were governed by a trading company though not settled by it? Account for the early downfall of the Swedish power in America. Of the Dutch. What sects were not guilty of religious persecution in colonial times? In what colonies do you find intolerance in religion? What colonies were settled by persecuted classes? What colonies were originally gifts of territory to friends of the king? Copy and fill out the following table :

COLONY.	First Settlement.	Date.	By Whom Founded.	Religion of Settlers.	Motive of Founder.
New York	New Amsterdam	1623	Dutch West India Co.	{ Dutch Protestants }	Trade
New Jersey					
Pennsylvania					
Delaware					

Combine in one the tables in §§ 124, 164, and 184.



Synchronal Chart of the Colonies.

Questions on Chart of Colonies.— Copy this chart on blackboard or on paper. In the space representing Virginia, place a cross-mark to indicate relative time of first introduction of slaves. What events in other colonies took place at nearly the same time? Place cross-marks in proper positions on your chart to represent important events in the different colonies. How many and what colonies were founded during the thirty years between 1620 and 1650? Find a period of 50 years during which no colony was founded. What colony was for a while united to New York? What colony was once part of Pennsylvania? What colonies were founded by people from Massachusetts?

TOPICAL ANALYSIS (MIDDLE COLONIES).

- NEW YORK.** {
- 165. **Settlement.** { Dutch claims.
Trading posts.
Settlements.
 - 166. **The Patroons.** { Grants from West India Company.
Power.
 - 167. **Dutch Government.** { Relations with Indians.
Governors.
 - 168. **Fall of Dutch Power.** { English claims.
English conquest.
Second supremacy of Dutch.
Final transfer to England.
 - 169. **English Rule.** { Incompetent governors.
Jacob Leisler.
- NEW JERSEY.** {
- 171. **Settlement.** { Conflicting claims.
English grants.
Settlements.
 - 172. **The Colony Divided.** { Sale of eastern part.
Sale of western part.
 - 173. **The Jerseys United.** { The king and the proprietors.
Connection with New York.
- PENNSYLVANIA.** {
- 175. **The Quakers of England.**
 - 176. **Founder of the Colony.** { His purpose.
Grant of territory.
 - 177. **Settlement.**
 - 178. **Growth.** { Immigrants.
The Indians.
Government.
- DELAWARE.** {
- 180. **Settlement.** { By the Dutch.
By the Swedes.
 - 181. **Conflicting Claims.** { English authority established.
Transfer to Duke of York.
Transfer to Wm. Penn.
 - 182. **A Separate Province.**

DOWNFALL OF FRENCH POWER IN AMERICA.

185. Cause of the French Wars. — In the latter half of the seventeenth century, the struggle for the control of North Amer-



North America at Beginning of French Wars.

ica had narrowed down to two nations, France and England. It is true that Florida and Mexico were held by Spain; but the Spaniards were so intent upon the gold in the mines of

Mexico and South America, that they made no attempt to extend their settlements. England and France were thus left practically alone in possession of the continent. There were two causes that made a conflict between them inevitable. The two nations were old enemies. From early times, long and bloody wars had been waged between them. A slight pretext was enough to occasion hostilities, and their American colonists were always ready to take up the quarrel. And then, as the growing settlements began to encroach upon each other, local causes of enmity arose. Conflicting claims to territory, relations with the Indians, differences in the religion, occupation, and character of the English and French settlers, combined to cause constant jealousy and to bring about occasional open outbreaks.

186. Limits of English and French Settlement. — When the long struggle began — toward the close of the seventeenth century — all the English colonies except Georgia had been founded. The English had undisputed possession of the Atlantic coast from New England to South Carolina. Although they claimed the Pacific Ocean as their western boundary, yet, in reality, the Alleghany Mountains marked the western limits of their settlements and authority.

The French had built forts and had made scattered settlements in Nova Scotia, along the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes, and down the Mississippi. Their settlements were generally small and far apart. They were most numerous in Acadia (Nova Scotia and the adjacent mainland), Canada, and the lake region.

187. Comparative Strength. — At this period the French colonists numbered hardly more than 12,000. The total population of the English colonies at the same time was estimated at 200,000, — more than sixteen times as many as their French rivals. The French plan of conquering the new country was chiefly by establishing forts and trading-posts, to be held by

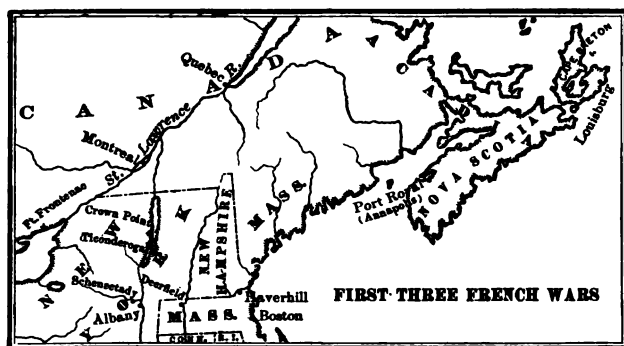
trappers and fur-traders. The English brought over farmers and laboring men who cultivated the soil, and made permanent homes. In wealth, as in numbers, the English colonies far surpassed the French. While the French settlers were dependent on the mother-country for supplies for their armies, the English colonies were themselves able to support the troops for their defense. On the other hand, the French soldiers were among the best in the world. Their colonial governors were generally able and patriotic men. The French, too, by living among the Indians, often intermarrying with them, and adopting their ways and customs, gained such influence over the savage tribes that they could enlist their powerful aid against the English in almost every contest.

188. The Iroquois Indians. — There were some Indians, however, whom the French could not control. The Iroquois, or Five Nations, occupying northern New York, were a group of powerful and semi-civilized tribes. Their united strength numbered 4000 warriors. They had well-built villages, and fields of corn, beans, and pumpkins. Their discipline and government were superior to those of most other savage tribes. The location of these Indians — on the border between the French and English settlements — and their acknowledged power, gave them great importance in the approaching war. For several reasons they disliked the French: (1) Champlain, the great French explorer, had once sided with their enemies, the Algonquins; (2) they looked upon the French as their rivals in trapping and fur-trading; (3) there were better opportunities for profitable trade with the prosperous English than with the French.

189. Period of the French Wars. — Including varying intervals of peace, the contest between the French and the English in America lasted for seventy-four years (1689–1763). This long struggle included four separate wars, all except the last

being named from the reigning sovereign of England. They are (1) King William's War, 1689-97; (2) Queen Anne's War, 1702-13; (3) King George's War, 1744-8; (4) French and Indian war, 1754-63.

190. The First Three French Wars.—When James II. was banished from England by his subjects he took refuge in France. Here he was aided by the French in his effort to regain the throne from William and Mary, who had been crowned king



and queen of England in his stead. This led to a war between France and England, in which their American colonies became involved, and which was known in America as King William's War. Queen Anne's and King George's Wars also originated in Europe. The scene of conflict of these three wars was New York, New England, and the French territory lying northward.¹ Combined forces of French and Indians swooped down upon defenseless villages in New York and Massachusetts and committed dreadful massacres. The colonial troops, with more or less aid from England, made expeditions against

¹ The English colonies south of New York took little part in the first three French wars. During King William's War, however, the colonists of South Carolina were fighting the Spanish and Indians of Florida, and defeated a combined French and Spanish expedition from Cuba. (§ 115.)

Quebec, Port Royal, and Louisburg (the latter a strong fortification on Cape Breton Island).

191. Results of the First Three French Wars. — But little change of territory resulted from these wars. In the first conflict Port Royal was taken by English and colonial troops, but was given back to France at the close of the war. In the second war Port Royal, with Acadia, was again captured. This time the prize was kept by England, and never again fell into the hands of the French.¹ The name, Port Royal, was changed to Annapolis, in honor of Queen Anne, and Acadia was named Nova Scotia.² In King George's War the English achieved a splendid success in the capture of Louisburg, the strongest fortress in America. It was given back to France, however, at the close of the war, much to the disgust of the colonial troops who had taken a leading part in its overthrow.

192. The French and Indian War: Importance. — This war differs from the other French wars in several important particulars. In the first place, hostilities began in America before war had been declared by the mother-countries. It was the first war, also, in which all the English colonies were engaged. It was the bloodiest of the wars, and far the most important in its results.

193. How the War Began. — The English king authorized the governor of Virginia to grant a vast tract of land west of the Alleghanies to the Ohio Company for the purpose of colonization. The French, who already had a few forts in this region, arrested the English immigrants, and established new strongholds in the disputed territory. Major George Washington, then a young man of twenty-one, was sent by the governor

¹ Newfoundland was also by treaty surrendered to England. The island had been occupied by the English since 1583, but fell into French hands during Queen Anne's War.

² Latin for *New Scotland*, to correspond with *New England*.

of Virginia to request the French to remove their forts. Washington performed his dangerous mission wisely and courageously, but was unable to induce the French officers to retire. Soon afterward Washington was sent with a company of Virginia troops to the relief of an English post at the head of the Ohio River, then threatened by the French. On his arrival he found that the French had captured the place, and had named it Fort Duquesne, after the governor of Canada. He repulsed the advance guard of the French, but was afterward forced to retire, and to surrender his little company at Fort Necessity (in southwestern Pennsylvania). Notwithstanding this surrender, the young commander and his troops received the thanks of the Virginia Assembly for having accomplished so much with their small force.

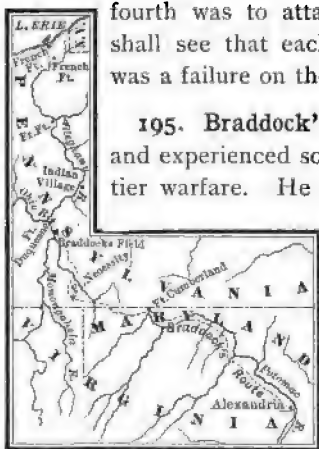
194. England Takes a Hand.—In England the news of the surrender of Fort Necessity caused great indignation, and



a plan was at once formed for driving the French from the entire country. General Edward Braddock was sent to America

with about 1000 men. At Alexandria, Va., Braddock was met by the governors of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts, and a plan of operations was agreed upon. English troops, reinforced by colonial forces, were to advance and capture Fort Duquesne;¹ another expedition was to take Fort Niagara;¹ a third was to seize Crown Point;¹ a

fourth was to attack the Acadian peninsula.¹ We shall see that each of these plans, except the last, was a failure on the first attempt.



195. Braddock's Defeat. — Braddock was a brave and experienced soldier, but wholly unfitted for frontier warfare. He was used to battles with trained

soldiers on the open plains of Europe. He knew nothing of the methods of fighting savages in pathless woods. He started toward Fort Duquesne with a fine army numbering 2000 men, consisting of regulars from England and provincials from Vir-

ginia, Maryland, and New York. Washington commanded the Virginia troops. Refusing to listen to the advice of the colonial officers, Braddock advanced through the forests, his troops encumbered with useless baggage, and with floating flags and rolling drums, as if no enemy were near. Within a few miles of Fort Duquesne, his army, while passing through a wooded ravine, was suddenly attacked from ambush by a strong force of French and Indians. The British troops were thrown into confusion by the attack from unseen enemies, and fired wildly into the air. The colonial soldiers concealed themselves quickly behind trees, and fought as the savages did. Braddock had four horses shot from under him, Washington, two.

¹ Find these places on the map, and tell how their location gave them importance in the war.

An order to retreat had just been given when Braddock fell mortally wounded. His fall caused a panic, and the retreat became a rout. Washington and his troops alone saved the army from total destruction.

196. Acadia. — In the same year a force of British and colonial troops sailed from Boston, and captured the few remaining French forts in Acadia.¹ The French settlers of this region had steadfastly refused to take the oath of allegiance to England. They were all Roman Catholics, and wholly under the influence of French priests, who were hostile to English rule and loyal to France. England considered these French Acadians a source of perpetual danger to her authority. A cruel order was issued to banish them from their homes and confiscate their property. The plan was heartlessly carried out. About 4000 settlers were taken from their homes — often separated from their families — and scattered in different colonies from Massachusetts to Louisiana. (In the poem "Evangeline," Longfellow touchingly describes the sufferings of some of these unfortunate people.)



Montcalm.

197. War Declared. — France and England declared war in 1756, after it had been raging two years in America. Each side sent over ships and men, and each seemed to realize that this was to be the final struggle for the control of the continent.

¹ This region had been ceded to England at the close of Queen Anne's War, but had not been fully occupied.

198. English Reverses. — The officers first sent over by England were inefficient, and were jealous of the colonial leaders. There was little unity of action between the different English armies. On the other hand, Montcalm, commander-in-chief of the French troops, was one of the ablest generals of his time. His troops were well disciplined, his armies acted in harmony. For two years he successfully resisted the attacks of the English upon his posts in the disputed territory.¹

199. The Tide Turned. — In 1757 William Pitt became the actual head of the British ministry. The force of his genius was soon observed in the changed condition of affairs in America. Inefficient officers were removed to give place to able and experienced ones. The unjust preference shown to English regulars over the colonial soldiers was no longer observed, and all troops were placed on equal footing. Energy and unity of action took the place of delays and jealousies.



William Pitt.

200. Fall of French Strongholds. — One by one the great French strongholds fell. Louisburg was surrendered in 1758. An attack on Ticonderoga, under General Abercrombie, was badly defeated, but the next year both Ticonderoga and Crown Point fell into the hands of the English. Fort Frontenac, on the north-east shore of Lake Ontario, was captured, and the French fleet on the lake destroyed. Fort Duquesne, thus cut off from its source of

¹ During this period of French success, their arms met one reverse in the defeat of Dieskau near the south end of Lake George. After their victory the English erected a fort, named Fort William Henry, near the battlefield. Two years later this fort was captured by Montcalm. Many of its helpless defenders were cruelly murdered by the Indian allies of the French, Montcalm being unable to control them.

supplies, was abandoned on the approach of an English army. Washington, who led the advance guard, planted the English flag on the deserted ramparts, and changed the name of the place to Fort Pitt (now Pittsburg), in honor of the great British minister. Niagara was also taken, thus completely cutting off the communication between Canada and Louisiana.

201. The Last Great Battle.—All that now remained to France were a few strongholds along the St. Lawrence and an island at the north end of Lake Champlain. Quebec, the capital of the French province of Canada, was at once the strongest and the most important of these defenses. That part of the town known as the "upper city" is situated on a steep bluff overhanging the St. Lawrence River. General Montcalm, who commanded



Old Quebec.

the defenders, had about 13,000 men. These were strongly posted for a distance of several miles along the north bank of the stream. The English forces under General Wolfe numbered 10,000 men. Wolfe spent four months in the vain effort to draw his skillful antagonist into a fight in the open field, or to surprise some weak place in his defenses. At last the keen eye of the English leader espied with his glass what seemed to be a ravine threading its way down the precipice. Closer observation proved it to be a path. Wolfe resolved to make a last desperate attempt to take the city by way of this perilous ascent. In the dead of night, boatloads of English soldiers floated silently down the stream, landed at the foot of the hidden path, and in single file climbed to the

top. Here, on a lofty plain, called the Heights of Abraham, the few astonished guards were overpowered, and 5000 troops, with Wolfe at their head, ranged themselves in battle line before their enemies were aware of their presence. The French rushed desperately to the attack. Both generals were mortally wounded. In his dying moments Wolfe heard the cry, "They run!" "Who run?" he gasped. "The French!" "God be praised!" he murmured, "I die happy." Five days after this victory the city was surrendered.



202. Close of the War. — The next year the French attempted to recapture Quebec. The effort failed, and a few months later Montreal and all the French ports in Canada were surrendered to the English. Although the fall of Canada closed the contest in America, war continued to be waged elsewhere between France and England. In 1762 Spain entered the war to aid France; but Great Britain completely conquered both nations. In 1763 a treaty of peace was signed at Paris. France yielded to Great Britain all her possessions in North America east of the Mississippi.¹ Spain agreed to give up Florida to Great Britain in exchange for the city of Havana, Cuba, which an English fleet had captured the year before.

203. Results of the French Wars. — The close of the French and Indian War marks the downfall of the French power in America. All the vast region conquered for France by her explorers, missionaries, traders, and settlers was thus wrested from her grasp by her most hated enemy. England

¹ The territory of France west of the Mississippi was ceded to Spain to prevent its falling into the hands of England.

had now undisputed control of the eastern half of North America, from the Arctic Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico. The four wars had cost each side thousands of lives and millions of money. For the American colonists other results were wrought besides those measured in territory, lives, and money. The wars united the people. The widely separated colonists learned to act together against a common foe. The success of colonial troops, fighting side by side with English regulars, taught them self-reliance and independence.



North America at Close of French Wars, 1763.

The hard experiences of war gave the colonial soldiers valuable military training, and developed the genius of such leaders as Washington, Putnam, Stark, Sumter, Marion, and others. On the whole, it may be said that the French wars were a training-school to the American colonists for the great struggle with the mother-country which began twelve years later.

204. Summary. — The French wars extended over a period of seventy-four years, from 1689 to 1763. At the beginning of this period, England held the Atlantic coast from New England to South Carolina. France controlled the region between the mouth of the St. Lawrence and the head of Lake Superior, and from the source of the Mississippi to its mouth. The first three wars, William's, Anne's, George's (mnemonic word, W.-A.-G.), originated in Europe, were waged chiefly on the frontiers of New England and New York, and, save in the surrender of Acadia by the French, resulted in no change of territory. In the last and most important war, the French and Indian, all the English colonies were concerned. It originated in America over a question of disputed territory. The English were unsuccessful until the genius of William Pitt turned the tide. The last great

French stronghold, Quebec, fell after a desperate battle, in which both generals, Wolfe and Montcalm, were killed. By the treaty of peace, 1763, France gave to England all her territory east of the Mississippi; Spain gave Florida to England. To the English colonists, the French Wars were a valuable preparation for the approaching struggle with the mother-country.

205. Thought Questions. — What first attracted the French to the country about the mouth of the St. Lawrence? Why did they follow the water-courses in their explorations and settlements? Why did so many French Huguenots settle in the English rather than in the French colonies? What does the fact that European colonists in America were so ready to take up the quarrels of the mother-country prove? How did it happen that so few colonies were engaged in the first three French wars? Why were all the colonies united in the French and Indian War? Did the Iroquois Indians pursue the wisest course? Was the English claim to the land west of the Alleghanies more just than that of the French? Give reason for your opinion. Show how each side might claim that the other began the war. What excuse had the English? the French?

TOPICAL ANALYSIS (FRENCH WARS IN AMERICA).

PRELIMINARY VIEW.	185. Cause of French Wars.	{ Struggle for control of North America. Old enmities. Local differences.
	186. Territorial Possessions.	{ English. French.
	187. Comparative Strength.	{ Number of colonists. Plans of conquest. Advantages of each.
	188. Iroquois Indians.	{ Importance in the struggle. Advancement toward civilization. Hostility toward French.
	189. Period of the French Wars.	{ King William's. Queen Anne's. King George's. French and Indian.
FIRST THREE WARS.	190. Causes and Incidents.	
	191. Territorial Changes.	{ King William's War. Queen Anne's War. King George's War.

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

- 192. Importance.
- 193. Beginning of the War {
 - Grant to Ohio Company.
 - Encroachments of French.
 - Washington's mission.
 - Surrender at Fort Necessity.
- 194. Troops from England. {
 - Feeling in England.
 - General Braddock.
 - Plan of operations.
- 195. Braddock's Defeat. {
 - His ignorance of frontier warfare.
 - March of his army.
 - Attack of French and Indians.
- 196. Acadia. {
 - Capture of French forts.
 - Cruel treatment of colonists.
- 197. War Declared.
- 198. English Reverses. {
 - Weakness of English troops.
 - Advantages of the French.
 - First two years of war.
- 199. The Tide Turned. {
 - William Pitt.
 - Changed condition in America.
- 200. Fall of French Strongholds. {
 - Louisburg.
 - Ticonderoga and Crown Point.
 - Fort Frontenac.
 - Fort Duquesne.
 - Niagara.
- 201. The Last Battle. {
 - Situation of Quebec.
 - Forces of Wolfe and Montcalm.
 - The battle.
 - The surrender.
- 202. Close of the War. {
 - Canada surrendered to the English.
 - Treaty of peace.
 - Changes of territory.

- RESULTS OF THE FRENCH WARS. } 203. {
 - English possessions in North America.
 - Cost of the wars.
 - Benefits to English colonists.

LIFE IN THE COLONIES.

206. Introductory. — The downfall of the French power in America (1763) marks the close of an era in the history of the English colonies. Now begins the story of quarrels with the mother-country, the long and bloody war of the Revolution, and the establishment of the Republic of the United States.

Before entering upon this period, so full of stirring scenes and momentous changes, we may pause a moment to consider the home-life of the people in the old colonial days, soon to pass away forever.

207. Geographical Limits. — Virginia, the oldest colony, had now been established 156 years; Georgia, the youngest, 31 years. There had been many changes in territorial limits. In some cases, colonies were formed from the union of other colonies, as Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Jersey. In other cases, new colonies were formed by dividing the territory of colonies already existing, as New Hampshire, Delaware, and the Carolinas. The settlements occupied a narrow strip along the Atlantic coast. The vast region west of the Alleghany Mountains was included, however, in the territory of the different colonies, their claims being based on royal grants or on explorations made by the colonists themselves. Virginia was the largest colony, and Georgia ranked next in size. The district of Maine was part of Massachusetts; and the present State of Vermont was claimed by New York and New Hampshire.

The map opposite page 211 will show the limits of the colonies at the close of the colonial period.

208. Population. — For nearly a century and a half after the founding of Jamestown, the growth of the colonies, as a

whole, was slow and beset with many difficulties. From about the middle of the eighteenth century, however, there was a rapid increase in population. At the close of the colonial period, the total population of the colonies was probably somewhat over 2,000,000 (about equal to that of New York City to-day). Virginia was the most populous colony, her inhabitants numbering half a million. Massachusetts and Pennsylvania ranked next to her, while New York came seventh, and Georgia thirteenth in population.

The Indians had nearly all been driven westward across the mountains. There were no cities, most of the people living on farms or in small towns. The largest towns were Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Charleston, but none of these contained over 20,000 inhabitants.

209. Slavery. — Negro slaves were found in all the colonies, and there was little prejudice against the system, North or South.¹ A Dutch vessel brought over the first cargo of African slaves. Afterward English and New England ships were active in carrying on the traffic. It proved extremely profitable, and was encouraged by the British government. At first the slaves were employed chiefly as house-servants ; but it was soon found that they were best adapted to farm labor and a warm climate. In the northern colonies, with their commercial pursuits, small farms, and cold climate, slavery was not profitable, and the number of negroes was never large. In the southern colonies, however, the great tobacco and rice plantations created a demand for slave labor, and the number of slaves rapidly increased. At the close of the French wars there were nearly 500,000 slaves in the colonies, of whom eight-ninths were south of Mason and Dixon's line (§ 101).

¹ One of the agreements between the colonies forming the New England Confederation was that runaway slaves should be delivered up on demand.

210. Government. — The English colonies were all subject to the Crown, and the general features of colonial government were similar. Each had a governor and a law-making body composed of two branches,¹ the smaller body called the "Council," the larger the "Assembly." The Assembly was in all cases chosen by the people. With these resemblances there were certain differences. (1) Massachusetts,² Connecticut, and Rhode Island each had a charter from the king, giving them the right to elect all their officers. This made these colonies almost like independent republics, so far, at least, as their local government was concerned. They may be called the *Republican Colonies*.

(2) Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland also had charters, but these charters conferred the right of government upon the proprietors instead of upon the people. The proprietor appointed the governor and Council for his colony. These were called *Proprietary Colonies*.

(3) Of the remaining seven colonies, New Hampshire never had a charter, and the original charters of the others had been annulled. The governor and Council in these colonies were appointed directly by the king, and they were known, therefore, as the *Royal Colonies*.

211. Colonies Classified. — The life of the people in the various colonies differed greatly. This may be readily accounted for, when we remember the different classes of Englishmen who settled the colonies, the presence of a large foreign population in many of them, the varying local conditions, as of climate, soil, or relations with the Indians, and the infrequency of intercourse between settlements. Yet in each of the three great groups, — the New England, the Middle, and the

¹ But see § 233.

² After 1692 the governor of Massachusetts was appointed by the king, although the colony still had a charter.

Southern colonies, — we find a certain uniformity in character and institutions. Each group has one or more “parent” colonies of which the others are offshoots, and which, from their predominating influence, may be considered typical colonies of the several groups. Thus, in the Southern division Virginia is the representative; in the Middle division, New York and Pennsylvania; in the New England division, Massachusetts.

THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES.

212. Occupations of the People. — With the exception of Connecticut, the soil of New England is generally rocky and unfruitful, and so offered the colonists little inducement to the pursuit of agriculture. Farming on a small scale, however, was everywhere followed, — grain, hay, vegetables, hemp, and flax being the principal products. The fisheries, especially whale and cod, were the source of greatest wealth. The forests contained an inexhaustible supply of valuable timber, which the colonists were not slow to utilize. Shipbuilding became a leading industry. New England ships carried a large part of the commerce of all the colonies. An extensive trade with neighboring colonies and the West Indies sprang up. Ships loaded with New England products would visit the West Indies and return with cargoes of sugar, molasses, and slaves. Part of the sugar and molasses was converted into rum and again exported. The New Englanders were skillful in all kinds of handiwork, and labor was greatly diversified. We find soap-boilers, tinkers, tailors, glovers, coopers, shoemakers, curriers, glaziers, millers, tallow-chandlers, and barber-surgeons,¹ all represented among the colonists.

¹ Before the days of regular physicians, barbers practiced a rude surgery. The barber's pole, with its red stripes, was first used as a sign of the bloody nature of the surgeon's work.

213. Town Life and Government.—In most of the colonies towns were a comparatively late growth, springing up gradually as population increased. In New England, on the contrary, towns existed from the first, and lay at the foundation of colonial life and government. There were no large plantations. The settlers built their homes near together around their “meeting-house.” Each man had his share of land, and also certain rights of pasturage in the “common,” an open field belonging to the whole community.

The term “town” included not only the village, but the surrounding district of small farms within convenient distance from the meeting-house. Each town had a representative in the colonial Legislature, besides the privilege of managing completely its local affairs. At stated times the “town meeting” was held in the church. Here every citizen (in Massachusetts, only church-members) had a vote and an equal voice in debate. Taxes were levied, laws passed, and the “selectmen” to whom their town’s affairs were to be entrusted for the coming year were chosen. This town government still exists in New England, and as a system of local self-government deserves our study and admiration.

214. Religion.—The religion of the New Englanders filled a large share of their thoughts, and influenced every department of their life. In doctrine the Puritan Church was Calvinistic. In government it was Congregational; that is, the direction of church affairs was in the hands of the members of each congregation, and no higher authority was recognized. In spirit it was characterized by depth of conviction and bitter intolerance. Freedom of thought in religion was rewarded with stripes, imprisonment, or banishment.¹ The ministers were highly educated men, usually of marked ability and purity of life. They were looked up to by the community, and ex-

¹ Rhode Island was a notable exception in this respect.

erted a powerful influence in secular as well as religious affairs. The performance of religious duties was enforced by law. The people were summoned to church by the beating of a drum. Those who stayed away without good excuse had to pay a fine. Certain seats near the pulpit were reserved for the elders and deacons. The men were seated on one side of the church, the women on the other. Behind these were the children and negroes, and back of all the "tithing men," whose business it was to see that a properly reverent spirit was maintained. These last were armed with long rods, tipped with brass at one end, and a rabbit's foot at the other. As the sermon was often two hours long and the prayers in proportion, it not infrequently happened that the head of a restless boy was sharply rapped with the brass end of the tithing man's rod, or the nose of some sleepy old lady gently tickled with the rabbit's foot to rouse her from her slumber. No organ nor instrumental music of any kind was allowed. The clerk, or precentor, from his station in front of the pulpit read out one line at a time from the "Bay Psalm Book," while the congregation vigorously chanted it after him in different keys. This was called "singing by rule." Singing by note was introduced later.

215. The Sabbath.— Strict observance of the Sabbath (it was never called Sunday) was a marked feature of Puritan life. The Sabbath began at six o'clock on Saturday evening, and closed at sundown on Sunday. Laws to punish violations of the Sabbath were numerous and rigidly enforced. No work save what was absolutely necessary, no travel, no amusements were permitted.

216. Laws.— The laws were patterned after the Old Testament, and regulated minute details of life. In Massachusetts there were thirteen offenses punishable by death (not half so many, however, as in England at the same time). Among these were murder, arson, blasphemy, abuse of parents. Hang-

ing was the usual mode of capital punishment, but negroes were sometimes burned at the stake. Imprisonment was not a common punishment.

For minor offenses the stocks, the ducking-stool, pillory, and whipping-post were used. Sometimes



Ducking Stool.



Stocks.

the forehead or cheek of the culprit was branded with a hot iron, or he was compelled to wear, sewed on his garment, a large colored letter to indicate his crime. Great publicity was given to all kinds of punishment.

217. Grades of Society.— There were various grades of society among the New England colonists, with the difference between them plainly marked. These social distinctions were partly brought over from England, and were partly based on education, service to the state, and wealth. The classes, in order of rank, were gentlemen, yeomen, merchants, mechanics, indentured servants,¹ and negro slaves. Goodman and goodwife were the ordinary titles of men and women. Mr. and Mrs. could only be applied to those of the upper class, or order of “gentlemen.” We are told that Mr. Josias Plaistow, having been convicted of theft, was condemned thereafter to drop his title, and be known as plain Josias.

The seats at church were carefully arranged according to the social rank of the occupants. The order of names in the college catalogues was determined in the same way. It was not till 1772 that Harvard College substituted the alphabetical arrangement.

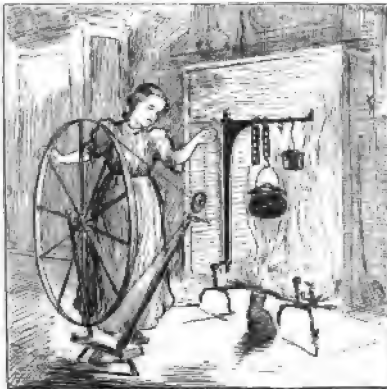
¹ These were persons who bound themselves to service for a term of years in payment of some debt, generally for their passage to America. For the origin of this use of the word “indentured,” see any standard unabridged dictionary.

218. Dress.—Ordinarily the men wore a homespun jacket with a belt around it at the waist, breeches reaching to the knees and tied, black stockings that came up to the knees, and coarse shoes. Both men and women wore tall, pointed hats. The women's dresses were of coarse linen. They usually plaited their hair in a simple braid, but on Sunday it was coiled on top of the head and powdered. Among the wealthy classes of the large towns there was finer dressing, yet undue extravagance in dress was prohibited by law. A law of Massachusetts forbade the use of veils, "immoderate great sleeves," and "slashed apparel."



Style of Dress.

219. Social Life.—The early Puritans were a stern people, averse to social pleasure, though in later times this soberness



Interior of Settler's Home.

melted to a considerable degree. The house-raising, huskings, and quilting parties gave them an opportunity to help each other and indulge in social pleasures. They did not observe Christmas, because they associated it with Popish feast days. Their holidays were Thanksgiving Day, Fast Day, Election Day, and Training Day (for drilling the militia). Marriage was regarded as a

civil contract, and was usually performed by justices of the peace. Early marriages were common. One writer of th

period speaks of "Miss Wilkins, an old maid of twenty-six, looked on in Boston as a dismal spectacle."

At their funerals, in the small towns, the coffin was carried to the grave on men's shoulders. After the burial all returned to the home of the deceased, and closed the day with feasting and drinking.

The houses were built of logs, covered with rough boards. Each house had a large chimney, with its immense open fire-place, often large enough to hold a wagon-load of wood. As there were no stoves in those days, the cooking was done in these open fire-places.

220. Education.— From the beginning of their settlement, the men of New England took a deep interest in education. One of their first acts was to establish a system of free schools. In 1649 education was compulsory in every New England colony except Rhode Island. The result was that every one could read and write. Seven years after the founding of Salem, the General Court of Massachusetts appropriated a sum for establishing a college. Two years later Rev. John Harvard, of Charlestown, died, leaving his library and half of his estate, with which to aid the plan. In gratitude to its benefactor the new institution was called Harvard College, now the oldest college in the United States. Yale College was founded in Connecticut, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. At a later period Dartmouth College was established in New Hampshire, and Brown College in Rhode Island.

221. Literature.— At first the colonists had few books, and these were brought from England. The Bible was the one book most universally read, studied, and memorized. In 1639 the first printing press was set up at Cambridge, Massachusetts. It was the beginning of the next century before the first permanent newspaper in America, the "Boston News-Letter," appeared. No form of literature was more widely read than

Poor Richard, 1733.

A N

Almanack

For the Year of Christ

1 7 3 3,

Being the First after LEAP YEAR.

<i>And makes since the Creation</i>	Years
By the Account of the <i>Eastern Greeks</i>	7241
By the Latin Church, when ☉ ent. ♀	6932
By the Computation of <i>W.W.</i>	5742
By the <i>Roman Chronology</i>	5682
By the <i>Jewish Rabbies.</i>	5494

Wherein is contained

The Lunations, Eclipses, Judgment of the Weather, Spring Tides, Planets Motions & mutual Aspects, Sun and Moon's Rising and Setting, Length of Days, Time of High Water, Tides, Courts, and observable Days.

Fitted to the Latitude of Forty Degrees, and a Meridian of Five Hours West from London, but may without sensible Error, serve all the adjacent Places, even from *Newfoundland* to *South-Carolina*.

By **RICHARD SAUNDERS**, Philom.

PHILADELPHIA:

Printed and sold by *B. FRANKLIN*, at the New-
Printing-Office near the Market

the almanac. "Poor Richard's Almanack," prepared and published by Benjamin Franklin, was perhaps the most popular of these. It contained scraps of history and poetry, anecdotes and epigrams. Some of the wise sayings of "Poor Richard" are familiar proverbs to-day. The "Almanacks" were carefully preserved, some households possessing a file of them for fifty years. The ministers of New England produced most of the writings. The books were nearly all on theological subjects. Jonathan Edwards's great work, "On the Freedom of the Will," is yet considered a masterpiece of logical reasoning. The Puritans were great versifiers, but produced little true poetry.¹

222. Summary.—It has been said that the characteristic features of New England life were her town meetings, schools, and churches. The most prominent traits which lay at the basis of these institutions were intense earnestness, intellectual activity, and hatred of all resemblance to priestly rule. The people were orderly and industrious. Their keenness of intellect, thrift, and experience in trade made them shrewd bargain-drivers, whose reputation remains to their descendants to-day. The influence of their religion on all departments of life, and their intolerance toward other sects, were marked features of their civilization. The gentle, imaginative, poetic side of their nature was not developed. The educational preëminence of colonial New England was pronounced. The same fixedness of conviction that led her people to ignore the rights of others

¹ The most popular book written in New England before the Revolution was a poem by Michael Wigglesworth, called the "Day of Doom." The following stanza from this "blazing and sulphurous" work describes the fate of the wicked :

"Then might you hear them tear and rend
The air with their out-cries :
The hideous noise of their sad voice
Ascendeth to the skies.
They wring their hands, their caitiff hands,
And gnash their teeth for terror ;
They cry, they roar, for anguish sore,
And gnaw their tongues for horror.
But get away without delay ;
Christ pities not your cry ;
Depart to hell, there may you yell
And roar eternally."

made them tenacious of their own. In the approaching contest with England, Massachusetts and Virginia led the way, and the New England colonists furnished to that struggle, and to the national character, some elements of greatest strength.

THE SOUTHERN COLONIES.

223. Occupations. — The first settlers in the Southern colonies found a climate and soil admirably adapted to agriculture. The Indians being usually friendly, it was not necessary for them to live in towns for the purpose of mutual defence. Numerous inlets of the sea and navigable rivers afforded a convenient means for the transportation of their products to European or colonial markets. The introduction of slave labor increased the profits of agriculture. Accordingly, farming was from the first the universal occupation of the people. There were small traders, but no considerable merchant-class. Carpenters and mechanics were rare. On each plantation a few slaves were trained as blacksmiths, shoemakers, etc. The commonest articles of furniture were imported from England. A few iron furnaces were established in Virginia by Governor Spotswood, and among the North Carolinians the production of lumber, tar, and turpentine in a measure took the place of agriculture. The professions of law and medicine had few followers, and did not acquire any standing until near the Revolution.

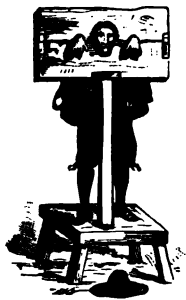
224. Principal Crops. — In South Carolina and Georgia, rice and indigo were the principal productions. Cotton was raised, but not in any great quantity. In Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina, tobacco was the universal crop. Its culture was so profitable that everything else was neglected, and it supplied the place of money as a medium of exchange. Taxes were levied in tobacco, and salaries were paid in tobacco. In later colonial days, grain became an important crop in Maryland, and large quantities of flour were exported from Baltimore.

225. Absence of Towns. — Absence of towns was characteristic of all the Southern colonies. Plantations lined the banks of the navigable streams, and each planter had a wharf on the river front, where ships laden with manufactured articles from England would land, and receive in return cargoes of colonial products. Thus every planter was his own merchant. Jamestown, for a long time the principal town of Virginia, consisted of a church, court-house, and about eighteen other houses. The county-seats, established by law for the administration of justice, were often located in the midst of a forest, and consisted of a court-house, a prison, a poorly-kept inn, and usually a church. The Legislatures of several of the colonies passed laws that towns should be established at specified places "for the encouragement of trade and manufacture." But these "paper towns" were failures. At the close of the colonial period, Charleston, with a population of about 15,000, was the principal town in the Southern colonies. Baltimore came next in size, then Norfolk, Virginia, with about 7000. Savannah, the largest town in Georgia, had 1200 inhabitants. In North Carolina only three places could be called towns, the largest, Wilmington, with a population of not over 600.

226. Slavery. — The culture of tobacco and rice, by making slave labor profitable, fastened the institution of African slavery upon the Southern colonies. Slaves were most numerous in South Carolina, where they outnumbered the whites two to one. In Virginia the slave and free population were about equal. The prohibition of slavery in Georgia was found to retard the growth of the colony, and was finally removed through the protests of the colonists and the influence of Rev. George Whitefield, who argued that the transportation of the negro from his savage home in Africa to a Christian land, where he would be humanely treated and forced to work, was a benefit to him. Alarm at the rapid increase of slaves, and dread of

an uprising of the negroes, led to the passage of extremely harsh laws concerning them. Yet, in general, the relation between master and slave was a kindly one.¹ The negroes were well fed, comfortably clothed, not overworked, and, as a class, were contented and happy.

227. Government. — At the close of the colonial period all the Southern colonies, except Maryland, had come under the Royal form of government (§ 210). The privilege of voting was usually restricted to land-owners. Political affairs were controlled by the large planters, who were cordially supported, however, by the small farmers. The county (instead of the town, as in New England) was the unit of local government, and was modeled after the English shire. Commissioners, or justices of the peace, were appointed by the governor for each county, to try offenses and administer such affairs as were not regulated by the Assembly. In some instances the church vestry, chosen by the heads of families, exercised certain powers of government. As a rule the people were not hampered by legal restraints upon the minor details of their conduct. The whipping-post was the common means of punishing violators of the law, though the pillory and ducking-stool were not unfamiliar objects. Cutting the ears was sometimes resorted to, as in the case of the faithless clerk of the Virginia Assembly (§ 92).



In the Pillory.

228. Society. — The planters were the ruling class socially as well as politically. They comprised two divisions, the large

¹ The little son of the planter might often be seen in the cabin "quarters" seated upon the knee of a gray-haired negro and listening with wonder and delight to the old "uncle's" tales of "Bre'r Rabbit" and "Bre'r Fox"; when bed-time found "little massa" thus, he was tenderly carried home in the arms of his black "mammy," as his nurse was called.

land-holders and the small planters. Separated from the planters by a broad social gulf was the comparatively small class of merchant-traders and landless laborers. At the bottom of the social scale, and cut off from the rest by an impassable barrier, was the great mass of negro slaves. The large planters, with their hundreds of acres and scores of slaves, gave an aristocratic air to southern life. One of these estates resembled a small village. In the center of a grassy lawn, dotted with stately trees, stood the mansion of the planter, built of



Southern Colonial Mansion.

wood or brick, two stories high, with its broad veranda supported by lofty pillars, its wide hallway, and low ceilings. Clustered around the mansion were numerous offices and storehouses, while a row of cabins, comprising the "negro-quarters," nestled in the distance.¹ The small planters lived in less style, and had fewer slaves. Bountiful hospitality characterized the people. There was usually one miserable tavern at each county-seat, but this was chiefly a resort for loafing and drinking. Only when court was in session did it have

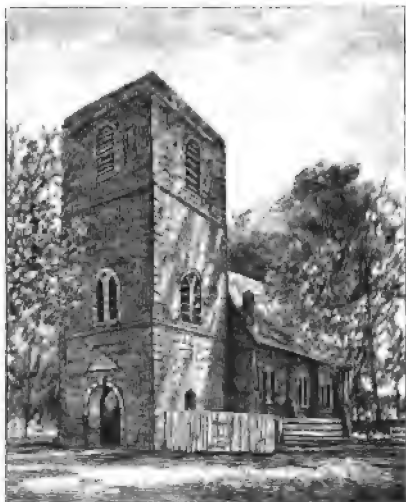
¹ In the Southern colonies the law of entail provided that estates could not be divided, but were to be handed down to the eldest son.

any guests. "Court-days" were eagerly welcomed by the people as a release from their isolated life. Then the deserted county-seat became a scene of bustle and confusion. The free-men of the county, rich and poor, there met on an equal footing, cracked jokes, talked politics, engaged in athletic sports, "swapped" horses, or bet on the speed of a favorite nag. In fine weather barbecues were common, when whole oxen and pigs were roasted, and contests in fiddling, wrestling, and dancing were held. Once a year, when the Assembly met, the colonial capital was a gay social center. Then the planter and his wife and daughters, arrayed in their finest clothes, were whirled away in their coach-and-four to Annapolis, Williamsburg, or Charleston, where they listened to the speeches in the hall of burgesses, visited horse-races, or attended a grand ball at the governor's "palace." Marriages were performed by clergymen, usually in church. In Maryland a special tax was imposed upon bachelors. In Virginia it would seem that the modern practice of "flirting" was discouraged. Governor Wyat, of that colony, required that any man or woman "engaging to marry two several persons at one time" should be punished by whipping or a fine, "according to the quality of the person so offending."

229. Religion. — At the close of the colonial period the Church of England was the Established¹ Church in all the Southern colonies, although in Virginia alone did its members constitute a majority of the white population. Among dissenting sects, the most numerous and influential in Virginia and North Carolina were the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians; in South Carolina, Huguenots; in Maryland, Roman Catholics and Puritans; in Georgia, Lutherans, Methodists, and Baptists. Fining, imprisonment, and banishment were punishments sometimes inflicted for non-conformity to the Established Church. Maryland was the first colony to establish religious toleration, and

¹ That is, the State Church, supported by the government.

the Carolinas and Georgia followed her example. The first permanent church in America was erected at Jamestown. The



Old Brick Church, near Smithfield, Va.,
Erected in 1632.

governor and his council, in full dress, were regular attendants, and occupied seats of honor. Owing to the scattered population, some of the parishes extended over fifty miles, rendering regular attendance upon church impossible. The ministers were brought from England, and included many men of high character and mental ability, such as Rev. Jas. Blair, the founder of William and Mary College. In later colonial times, however, the fast lives of some of

the English clergy, their quarrels over questions of salary, and the suspicion of disloyalty to the colonies lessened the influence of the ministry as a class.

230. Education.—The sparsely settled character of the country in the South made it difficult to establish schools. Governor Berkeley's oft-quoted remark that he "thanked God there were no free schools nor printing-presses in Virginia" was not the sentiment of the colonists, but indicated the policy of the English governors, who would have their subjects ignorant in order to keep them submissive. Yet the bigotry of the rulers had its effect in encouraging indifference to popular education. Schools in the South were few. The

wealthy planters employed private tutors, or sent their sons to England to be educated. Yet the founding of William and Mary College in Virginia in 1693, the second oldest college in the United States, shows the early interest of the people in education. Through the efforts of Rev. Jas. Blair £2500 were subscribed by the colonists for founding a college. The Assembly approved the plan, and against official resistance in England a charter was secured from the sovereigns, William



William and Mary College in 1739.

and Mary, after whom the institution was named. The first commencement of the college was a grand occasion. Not only Virginians but a number of Indians were present, while visitors from Maryland and even from Pennsylvania and New York came in boats to attend the exercises.

231. Literature.—Printing was forbidden in Virginia by the English government, and was discouraged in all the colonies directly under the Crown. The first newspaper in the South was the *Maryland Gazette*, which appeared at Annapolis in 1727. In 1765 there were ten newspapers in the Southern colonies; two in Maryland, one in Virginia, two

in North Carolina, four in South Carolina, and one in Georgia. (In the same year the Middle colonies had thirteen newspapers, New England twenty.) The books of the colonists, like their furniture, were imported from England. The productions of native authors were generally narrative or descriptive, and possessed no permanent literary value. Compared with the writings of New England, the literature of the South was less abundant and was characterized by lightness and worldliness rather than by theological soberness.

232. Summary.—"In the Southern colonies, as a whole, loyalty to the king and to the Established Church characterized the dominant class of settlers. The circumstances of their new homes made them an agricultural people and fastened upon them the institution of slavery. These facts will account for the distinctive features of colonial civilization in the South. There was no diversity of labor. The planters constituted the bulk of the population and were the leaders in society and politics. The "poor whites," descendants, for the most part, of indentured servants, were ignorant and shiftless. They were few in number, however, and without standing or influence. The slaves constituted nearly half the population, and as a rule were humanely treated. The isolated homes of the colonists and the bigotry of their rulers hindered the progress of popular education. Nevertheless there were occasional free schools, and Virginia boasted the second oldest college in the country. While instances of religious persecution were not wanting, yet intolerance was not a characteristic of the people. Loyal churchmen as they were, they were quick to resent any infringement of their rights by king or clergy. Jovial, hospitable, and sociable, their manner of life encouraged extravagance and love of ease. Gambling and intemperance were prevailing vices. Open-hearted generosity, refinement of feeling, patriotism, and a high sense of honor were characteristics of the better class. When the Revolutionary struggle came on, no section of the country furnished so splendid a group of leaders in the council and the field.

THE MIDDLE COLONIES.

233. Nationality and Occupation of the People.—New York and Delaware alone of the thirteen colonies were not founded by the English race. The population of the Middle colonies as a whole was more heterogeneous than that of either New England or the South. The descendants of the Dutch continued to constitute a majority of the white population of New York, and gave a distinctive character to the colony. The Germans in Pennsylvania nearly equaled in number the colonists of English descent. Agriculture and trade in nearly equal proportions engaged the attention of the people. Grain was the principal production, although there was a considerable diversity of crops. Numerous windmills in New York and watermills in Pennsylvania ground the wheat into flour, which



Dutch Windmill.



First Warehouse in New York.

formed the leading export. New York was the chief trading and commercial colony. The fur-trade was most extensive and profitable. There were glass and paper factories, and in

Pennsylvania the iron industry received some attention. In Pennsylvania the professions of law and medicine were in good repute.

234. Religion.— Religious toleration was a marked characteristic of the Middle colonies. New York formed an exception to this in her treatment of the Roman Catholics and Quakers. Her hatred of the Romanists was largely due to constant warfare with the Roman Catholic French of Canada. The Quakers, true to their teachings, established a religious toleration as complete as that of to-day, and Pennsylvania became a refuge for a great variety of religious denominations. The ministers in the Middle colonies were generally upright and learned men. Those of New York were jovial in their lives and free from great formality. The predominant sects were Dutch Protestants in New York; Quakers in Pennsylvania and Delaware; Quakers, Congregationalists, and Scotch Presbyterians in New Jersey.

235. Education.— Numerous free schools were supported in New York by the Dutch. Under English rule, however, popular education in the colony languished. The only free school in Pennsylvania was founded by the Quakers at Philadelphia in 1689. There were a few private schools in Pennsylvania supported chiefly by the Moravians, and a few free town-schools in New Jersey. In 1746 the Presbyterians of New Jersey founded the first college in the Middle colonies (now Princeton College). Kings (now Columbia), an Episcopal college, was established at New York in 1754. The next year the College of Pennsylvania was founded at Philadelphia. Among the lower classes of Maryland and Pennsylvania there was much ignorant superstition about ghosts, witches, spells and charms.

236. Government.— Pennsylvania and Delaware continued under proprietary government until the Revolution, while New

York and New Jersey came directly under the rule of the Crown. In the first two colonies the Council was merely an advisory body to the governor, and so the Legislature was composed of only one house, the Assembly. In their local government the Middle colonies occupied a position between the "town" system of New England and the county system of the South. In Pennsylvania and Delaware, county government prevailed, with the distinctive feature that all county officers were elected by the people.¹ New York and New Jersey had county government, and also "town meetings," the latter, however, with less ample powers than those of New England. The Quakers were mild in their punishment of crime. Pennsylvania made murder the only capital offense, and criminals were punished with fines and light imprisonment. In 1718 this mild system was abandoned. The whipping-post and pillory were introduced, and the number of capital offenses was increased to fourteen. In New York and New Jersey, negro murderers were burned at the stake.

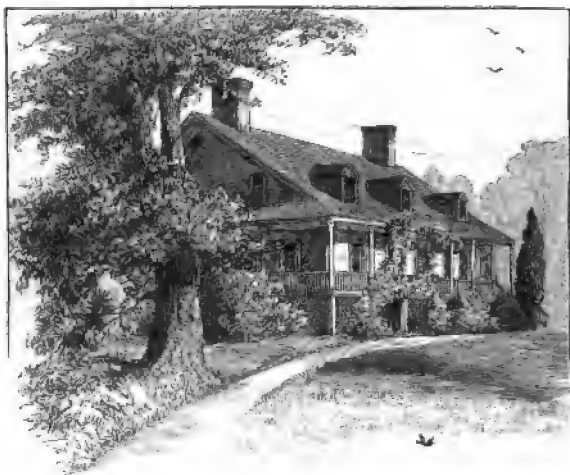
237. Social Classes.—In the Dutch patroons New York possessed a more distinctly aristocratic class than any of the other colonies. These great landed proprietors on their vast estates, with their hundreds of tenants, multitudes of servants, and princely power lived in magnificent style. There were single estates that elected members of the Assembly, and these elections were controlled by the patroons. In the other Middle colonies the wealthy landed gentry constituted the highest class, but there were few large estates. There were many indentured servants and a considerable number of slaves.² With

¹ The Pennsylvania system of county government exists in most states to-day.

² In New York there was a deep antipathy to the negroes, which showed itself on two occasions in a craze of excitement not unlike the witchcraft frenzy of Massachusetts. In the "negro plot" of 1741 the blacks were accused of plotting to burn the city of New York. Before the panic was over 13 of the unfortunate creatures were burned at the stake, 18 were hanged, and 17 transported, in accordance with the judgment of the court.

the exception of New York, social distinctions were less marked in the Middle colonies than in New England or the South.

238. Social Life. — Social life and customs were largely moulded by the Dutch in New York, and by the Quakers in the remaining Middle colonies. In New York the lords of the manor dressed in silks and velvets, and lived in large, hand-



Dutch Manor House.¹

somely furnished houses of brick or stone. They had great barns, and an abundance of horses and cattle. They generally spent their winters in the town of New York, returning to their country-seats in the spring. The houses of the moderate farmers were of wood, sometimes trimmed with yellow Holland brick, and surmounted with a gilded weather-cock. The furniture was plain and solid. The sideboards were plentifully supplied with wine and decorated with a rack of tobacco-pipes, for the Dutch were great smokers. Both sexes dressed in homespun.

¹ From "Memorial History of New York."

The loose, "baggy" breeches of the men and the numerous petticoats of the women gave them a clumsy appearance. The Dutch women were notable housewives. Their houses were kept scrupulously clean, and their floors were regularly scrubbed and sanded. Carpets were not used. The people were fond of social pleasure, and had a great liking for holidays. Christmas and New Year's were great festivals. St. Valentine's Day, Easter, and May Day were also celebrated by the young people.



Burgomaster of
New Amsterdam.



Quaker.

The Quakers of Pennsylvania and New Jersey were the best farmers of their time, thrifty, temperate, and economical. In the older settled communities the houses were generally of brick, plastered and papered, and plainly furnished. Leather breeches, hempen jackets, and broad hats were worn by the farmers on work-days. House-raising, huskings, and cider-pressings were occasions of social gatherings, but the ordinary daily life of the Quakers was sober and monotonous. Journeys were made on horseback. The bride rode to the wedding seated on a "pillion" behind her father, and returned in the same way behind her husband. In New Jersey a cow and a side saddle constituted a usual dower of the average farmer's daughter. Philadelphia and New York were the social centers of the Middle colonies; in the latter place, especially, society was gay and fashionable.

239. Summary. — In their social and political institutions, as in their geographical situation, the Middle colonies occupy a middle ground between the New England and the Southern groups. Neither trade nor agriculture

engrossed the exclusive attention of the people. Their local government was a compromise between the "town" and county systems. Slaves were more numerous than in New England, but far less abundant than in the South. The Middle colonies possessed the largest foreign population. As a rule social distinctions were less marked than in either of the other sections. In the Quaker colonies neither the religious persecution of the New England Puritans nor the intolerance of the Virginia Churchmen existed. Both the Dutch and the Quakers were slow in thought and action. In the Revolution they furnished a conservative class that formed a valuable element of strength in the struggle.

240. Thought Questions. — Whence did the colonists borrow the idea of having two branches in their colonial Legislatures? What points do you see to admire in the town system of local government in New England? In the county system of the South? How did the methods of church government of the settlers of Massachusetts and of Virginia influence their local civil government? Contrast the soil and climate of Massachusetts and of Virginia. How did these differences affect the occupations of the settlers in New England and the South? their local government? the institution of slavery? If the New England Puritans had settled in Virginia, and the Virginia Royalists had settled in New England, would the distinctive features of colonial life in the two sections have been different from what they really were? Was the difference in the life of the colonists due chiefly to local surroundings in America, or to the character and religion of the settlers, or to both? Are the differences between the sections of our country to-day more or less marked than they were in colonial times? Give the reason for your answer. What causes to-day tend to give uniformity to the manners and customs of the people in all parts of the United States? What causes tend to difference? In what particular have we made the greatest improvement since colonial times?

TOPICAL ANALYSIS (LIFE IN THE COLONIES).

GENERAL VIEW OF THE COLONIES.	206. Introductory: Close of an Era.	
	207. Territorial Limits.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Formation of colonies. Situation of settlements. Region west of the Alleghanies.
	208. Population.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Growth. Total population in 1760. The different colonies. Towns and cities.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE COLONIES <i>(continued)</i> .	209. Slavery.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The slave trade. The Northern colonies. The Southern colonies.
	210. Government.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Republican colonies. Proprietary colonies. Royal colonies.
	211. Colonies Classified.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Differences. Resemblance. Three groups.
	212. Occupations of the People.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Farming. Fisheries. Shipbuilding. Commerce. Handicrafts.
	213. Towns.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Origin. Limits. Government.
NEW ENGLAND COLONIES.	214. Religion.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Puritan church. Intolerance. Ministers. Church services.
	215. The Sabbath.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Duration. Observance.
	216. Laws.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Capital offenses. Modes of punishment.
	217. Grades of Society.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Basis. Classes. Distinctions.
	218. Dress.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Of the men. Of the women.
	219. Social Life.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social pleasures. Holidays. Marriages and funerals.
	220. Education.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Schools. Colleges.
	221. Literature.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> First printing press. First newspaper. Almanacs. Character of literature.

**SOUTHERN
COLONIES.**

- 223. **Occupations.** { Inducements to agriculture.
Other occupations.
- 224. **Principal Crops.** { In South Carolina and Georgia.
In Virginia and North Carolina.
In Maryland.
- 225. **Absence of Towns.** { The planter his own merchant.
County seats.
"Paper towns."
Principal towns in the South.
- 226. **Slavery.** { Profitableness.
Number of slaves.
Whitefield's argument.
Relation between master and slave.
- 227. **Government.** { Royal colonies.
Influence of land-owners.
The county.
Trial of offenses.
Modes of punishment.
- 228. **Society.** { Large planters.
Small planters.
Traders and laborers.
Slaves.
Court days.
The colonial capitals.
Marriages.
- 229. **Religion.** { The Established Church.
Dissenting sects.
Intolerance.
Clergymen.
- 230. **Education.** { Scarcity of schools.
William and Mary College.
- 231. **Literature.** { Prohibition of printing.
Books.
Character of literature.

**MIDDLE
COLONIES.**

- 233. **Nationality and Occupations.** { Mixed population.
Principal occupations.
Principal productions.
Leading export.
Other occupations.

**MIDDLE
COLONIES**
(continued).

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|---|----------------------|---|
| { | 234. Religion. | { <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: top; padding-left: 5px;"> Toleration.
 Intolerance in New York.
 Ministers.
 Leading denominations. </div> |
| | 235. Education. | { <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: top; padding-left: 5px;"> Schools and colleges.
 Superstitions. </div> |
| | 236. Government. | { <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: top; padding-left: 5px;"> Pennsylvania and Delaware.
 New York and New Jersey.
 Local government.
 Punishment of crime. </div> |
| | 237. Social Classes. | { <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: top; padding-left: 5px;"> Patroons of New York.
 Land-owners of other colonies.
 Social distinctions. </div> |
| | 238. Social Life. | { <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: top; padding-left: 5px;"> The Dutch of New York.
 The Quakers of Pa. and New Jersey. </div> |

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

I. WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.

- I. Causes leading to the War, 1760-74.
- II. Beginnings of the War, April, 1775-July, 1776.
 - 1. In Massachusetts.
 - 2. In Canada.
 - 3. On the Carolina Coast.Washington appointed Commander-in-Chief; Declaration of Independence.
- III. Struggle for the Middle States, July, 1776-July, 1778.
 - 1. Campaigns around New York City.
 - 2. Campaigns in northern New York.
 - 3. Campaigns around Philadelphia.Treaty with France.
- IV. War beyond the Frontiers, 1778-9.
 - 1. West of the Alleghanies.
 - 2. On the Ocean.
- V. War in the South, 1778-81.
 - 1. In Georgia and the Carolinas.
 - 2. In Virginia.Arnold's Treason.
Treaty of Peace with Great Britain.

I. CAUSES LEADING TO THE REVOLUTION.

241. Old Grievances. — As a rule, the English kings were careless of the rights of their American subjects. America was valued chiefly as a means to pay royal debts by grants of territory, or to reward court favorites by appointments to colonial offices. The royal governors frequently lacked both character and ability, and often provoked the people to resistance. When the tyranny of Governor Nicholson became unbearable to the Virginians, the king at last graciously consented to transfer him to another colony, and he became in turn governor of Maryland and of Carolina. Every colony, except Pennsylvania and Delaware, was at some period in its history the

victim of incompetent governors. But the victories won by English and colonial troops in the French and Indian War had caused old grievances to be forgotten and good feeling to prevail between the colonies and the mother-country. It was the course of the king and Parliament subsequent to 1760, in attempting to enforce certain old laws and in passing new ones distasteful to the colonists, that hurried on the Revolution.

242. Laws of Trade and Navigation. — It was commonly believed in England that British traders and manufacturers should not only be protected from competition in the colonies, but that they should derive an actual profit from colonial trade. To this end, more than one hundred years before the Revolution, Parliament had begun to pass laws to regulate shipping, trade, and manufactures in the colonies. These laws provided among other things (1) that no foreign vessel, except British, should carry goods to or bring them from the colonies; (2) that certain colonial products, such as tobacco, sugar, and cotton, should not be exported to any part of the world save to Great Britain or her colonies; (3) that all European products needed by the colonists should be purchased in England and imported in English ships; (4) that no articles made in England should be manufactured in the colonies. The object of these laws was partly to injure England's rivals (especially the Dutch, who at that time did most of the carrying trade of the world), but chiefly to enrich British merchants and manufacturers at the expense of the American colonists.

243. The Laws Evaded. — The disastrous effect of such laws upon the prosperity of the colonies, if strictly enforced, can be readily imagined. For nearly one hundred years the colonists ignored or evaded them. The numerous harbors on the American coast made it easy for smugglers¹ to avoid the

¹ To *smuggle* goods is to import them without paying the import tax required by law.

king's officers. When offenders were arrested sympathizing juries refused to convict them, and even the judges appointed by the king were disposed to be lenient, remembering that their salaries depended upon the vote of colonial Assemblies. The pressure of the French wars prevented the British government from turning its attention to the enforcement of the law.

244. Efforts to Enforce the Navigation Laws.— When the French power in America was overthrown, England was free to enforce her hated navigation laws. Colonial juries having re-



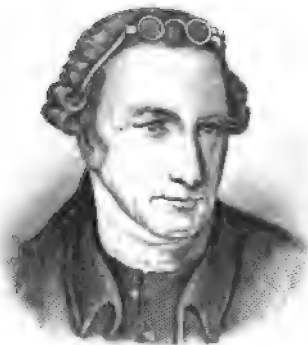
James Otis.

refused to punish smugglers, "Admiralty Courts" were established in the colonies, with authority to try offenders without juries. A still more formidable measure was the issuance of "writs of assistance" (1761). These were general warrants good for an indefinite time, authorizing officers to search all suspected places at any hour of the day for goods supposed to have been imported

contrary to law. The colonists, believing the navigation laws unjust, were ready to oppose any effective measures for enforcing them. Moreover, it was held that these new measures were violations of the British Constitution, which allowed to every citizen the right of trial by jury, and declared his house should be secure against unreasonable search. James Otis resigned his position as advocate-general of Massachusetts to avoid supporting the writs. The Boston merchants appealed to the courts to declare the writs illegal, and employed Otis as their counsel. The case was decided against them, yet

the powerful arguments of Otis exerted a wide influence in strengthening the opposition of the people.

245. The "Parson's Case." — While the admiralty courts and the writs of assistance were causing dissatisfaction and resistance in the commercial colonies, an event took place in Virginia which weakened the authority of the king in that loyal colony. The annual salary of each minister of the Established Church in Virginia was fixed by law at 16,000 pounds of tobacco, and this amount was raised by taxation. One year, when there was a failure of the tobacco crop, the Virginia Assembly passed a law allowing the salaries of ministers to be paid in money at the rate of twopence for each pound of tobacco due. As this sum was far below the market value of tobacco the clergy objected, and appealed to the king. The result was the king annulled or set aside the "two-penny act" of the Assembly. The ministers thereupon brought suits in their respective counties to recover the difference in salary due them. In one of the coun-



Patrick Henry.

ties Patrick Henry, an obscure young lawyer, was chosen to represent the tax-payers. In a speech of surprising boldness and eloquence, he denounced the king as a tyrant for setting aside a good law, and declared that the Assembly of Virginia "was the only authority for the laws of the colony." His words were cheered by the large crowd present, and the jury brought in a verdict awarding only one penny to the clergymen. In all parts of Virginia, Henry's defiance of the king was discussed, some condemning it as treason, many others approving it.

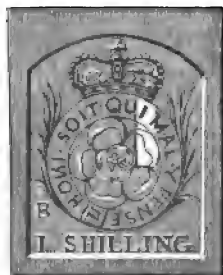
246. The Colonies to be Taxed.—The expenses of the French wars had brought an enormous debt upon England. As the wars had been waged partly in the interest of the colonies, England claimed that the colonies should help to pay the cost. Accordingly, the British Parliament decided to go a step further than it had ever gone before; it determined to raise a revenue from the colonies by taxation. An old law, placing a duty on sugar and molasses, was revived, and the Stamp Act was passed (1765), requiring government stamps to be placed on all contracts, notes, and legal documents. These stamps were to be sold by British officials, and from this source a large revenue was expected.

247. Feeling of the Americans.—The proposed taxation of Americans by the British Parliament awakened a greater storm than did the enforcement of the navigation laws. Centuries before this, the people of England had taken away from their king the power to tax them, and had declared that in England taxes could be imposed only by the representatives elected by the people. In accordance with this principle, the American colonists claimed they could be taxed only by their colonial Assemblies. They elected no representatives to Parliament; that body, therefore, had no right to tax them. Moreover, inasmuch as their territory, when first discovered, was considered to belong to the king, and as they had obtained their title to the soil from the king, they held that they were subject to the king alone, and not to Parliament. As to the expenses of the French wars, the colonists held that they had already paid their share in the soldiers and supplies they had furnished.

248. The British Parliament.—The Parliament which proposed to tax the American colonists did not truly represent the people of England. In the United States to-day, we know that members of Congress are elected from districts of nearly equal

population ; and as population increases much more rapidly in some parts of the country than in others, we rearrange our representative districts every ten years in order to prevent unfairness in representation. In England, however, members of Parliament had been originally elected from "shires" or "boroughs," as such, and without reference to population. At the time of George III. these parliamentary districts, never regular, had not been changed for 200 years. As a consequence, cities like Manchester and Birmingham, which had sprung up in recent years, had no representatives, while other districts, whose population had decreased to hardly a dozen inhabitants, were yet allowed to choose members of Parliament. The votes in these "rotten boroughs" were controlled by the king and a few wealthy families. The people of the unrepresented cities had begun to complain of their unjust treatment, and they sympathized with the Americans in their cry of "no taxation without representation."

249. Resistance to the Stamp Act. — News of the passage of the Stamp Act reached America in the spring of 1765. From Virginia came the first response. Her Assembly passed a series of resolutions introduced by the great orator, Patrick Henry, and supported by his matchless eloquence, declaring that "the Assembly of this colony have the only and sole exclusive right to levy taxes upon the inhabitants." John Ashe, speaker of the North Carolina Assembly, declared to the royal governor that in his colony the Stamp Act "would be resisted to blood," whereupon the governor promptly dissolved the Assembly. The Massachusetts Assembly resolved that their courts should recognize unstamped documents, and sent a circular to the other colonies recom-



British Stamp.

mending that a congress of delegates from all the colonies be held in New York to consider common grievances. In some places the feeling of opposition was so strong that mobs were formed and deeds of cruelty and lawlessness enacted.¹ Everywhere stamp agents were forced to resign, and the stamps were either destroyed or sent back to England.

250. The Stamp Act Congress. — This Congress, proposed by Massachusetts and seconded by South Carolina, met in New York just before the Stamp Act was to go into effect (October, 1765). Twenty-eight delegates were present, representing nine colonies. Four colonies were unrepresented, chiefly through opposition of their royal governors and not through lack of interest in the cause. Petitions to the king and Parliament² were prepared and also a Declaration of Rights, asserting that the colonies should be free from all taxes not imposed with their own consent.

251. The Stamp Act Repealed. — It soon became evident to the British ministry that to enforce the Stamp Act an army must be used, and they were unwilling to go so far. The colonies, moreover, were not without sympathizers in England. When Parliament met in 1766, a petition against the Stamp Act was presented by the London merchants trading with America. William Pitt, now old and suffering with disease, appeared in the House of Commons on crutches, and fiercely opposed the policy of the British government. "I rejoice that America has resisted," said he. "If her people had submitted, they would have voluntarily become slaves. My opinion is that the Stamp Act should be repealed, absolutely,

¹ In Boston the home of Chief-Justice Hutchison was burned by a mob, the Justice and his family barely escaping. In New York a torch-light procession dragged through the streets the governor's chariot bearing images of the governor and the devil, and finally made a bonfire of the chariot.

² Gadsden, of South Carolina, objected to sending petitions to Parliament, because thereby its authority would be acknowledged.

totally, immediately." The result was the repeal of the Stamp Act before it had been in operation six months. At the same time a resolution was passed declaring that Parliament had the right to tax the colonies in all cases. Thus the principle of taxation without representation was still maintained.

252. The Townshend Acts. — The next year two laws known as the Townshend Acts (from their author, Charles Townshend) were passed. The first provided for the stricter execution of the laws of trade; the second, for imposing a tax on glass, paper, and tea. Again bitter opposition was aroused, especially in the commercial colonies. The Massachusetts Assembly sent a circular to the various colonies censuring the recent acts of the British government in reference to trade and taxation. The king ordered the Assembly, under penalty of being instantly dissolved, to rescind this circular. By a vote of ninety-two to seventeen the Massachusetts Assembly refused to obey, thus deliberately defying the authority of the king. The Virginia Assembly the next year endorsed the Massachusetts circular and sent copies of her resolutions of approval to all the other colonies.

253. The Mutiny Act and the Boston Massacre. — Several regiments of British troops were stationed in New York and Boston to enforce the unpopular laws. By the Mutiny Act of 1765 the colonies were required to furnish food and quarters for the soldiers. The New York Assembly having failed to provide fully for the troops, Parliament suspended its powers of legislation. All the colonies looked upon this act of Parliament as a serious invasion of their rights. Boston flatly refusing to provide shelter for the soldiers, they were compelled to rent quarters at the expense of the Crown. There were frequent quarrels between the troops and the populace. Finally a collision occurred in which a squad of soldiers fired upon a crowd of citizens, killing three persons and wounding

several others¹ (1770). This affair, known as the "Boston Massacre," increased the excitement all over the country.

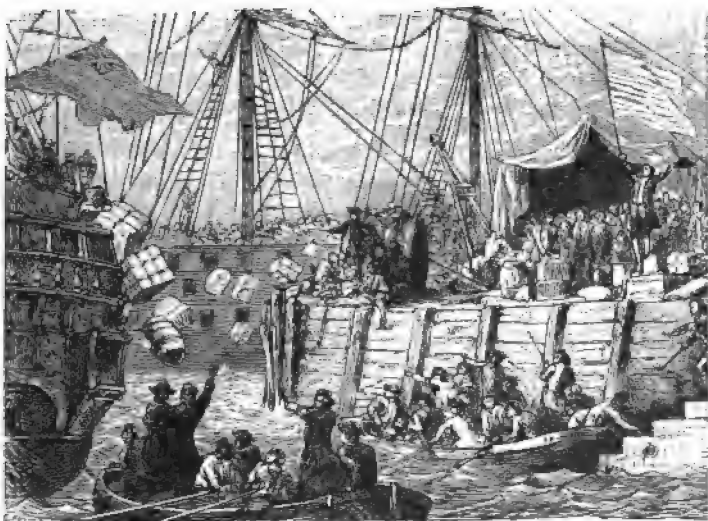
254. The Battle of Alamance.—In North Carolina excessive fees had been collected by the officers of the royal governor, and the taxes had been squandered. The people of the western counties of the colony organized to resist the payment of such taxes as were not "agreeable to law, and applied to the purposes therein mentioned." In 1771, at Alamance, near the head-waters of the Cape Fear River, a battle took place between the tax-payers and the governor's troops. The rebels were beaten, a large number were killed, and several of the captured were hanged as traitors. This was the first blood shed in America in resistance to unjust British taxation.

255. The Tax on Tea.—The British government decided to remove all taxes save that on tea. The tea tax was retained to show the colonists that the right to tax them was still maintained. Thereupon the Americans refused to buy tea shipped from England, and either drank none at all, or smuggled it from Holland. In order to induce them to use this taxed tea, it was provided that on all tea shipped from England to the colonies the owners should have refunded to them the duty paid when first imported into England from China. By this means the tea could be sold to the colonists, with the American duty added, cheaper than it could be purchased elsewhere. But the colonists refused to be caught in the king's trap. It was not the payment of a few pence, but the principle of "taxation without representation" that they opposed. From Massachusetts to Georgia the people showed their indignation. The merchants of Philadelphia, New York, and Charleston, to whom the first shiploads of tea under the act were consigned, agreed not to receive it. As the Boston tea merchants

¹ The soldiers were tried for murder. Two were convicted of manslaughter, the rest were acquitted.

refused to join in this agreement, the eyes of the whole country were turned to that city to see what course the people would take. When the first three shiploads of tea arrived at that port, fifty men disguised as Indians boarded the vessels, cut open the chests of tea and emptied them into the harbor.

256. Punishment of Boston.—The British government decided that severe punishment should be inflicted upon



Throwing the Tea Overboard. (An old Print.)

Boston and the colony of Massachusetts for the destruction of the tea. Parliament at once passed an act known as the Boston Port Bill, by which no ships were allowed to leave or enter the port of Boston, until the town should pay for the tea destroyed. This put a stop to all commerce, and threatened the people with financial ruin. By another act, the charter of Massachusetts was annulled, the appointment of nearly all the

officers was vested in the king, and the most important powers of the town meetings were taken away.

257. First Continental Congress.¹—From all the colonies came expressions of sympathy for the people of Boston, who were regarded as sufferers in a common cause. Georgia and South Carolina sent hundreds of barrels of rice to feed the hungry patriots. The Virginia Assembly set apart the first day of June (when the Boston Port Bill was to go into effect) as a day of “fasting, humiliation, and prayer.” For this, the governor at once dissolved the Assembly, but the members met the next day at Raleigh Tavern and proposed a general congress of the colonies. A few days later, but before the news from Virginia had reached them, the Massachusetts Assembly made a similar proposition. The other colonies accepted the invitation of Virginia and Massachusetts, Georgia alone being prevented from doing so by the efforts of her royal governor. On September 5, 1774, the delegates met in Philadelphia. The Congress approved the resistance of Massachusetts to the despotic acts of Parliament, demanded a repeal of the laws invading their rights, and recommended commercial non-intercourse with Great Britain. They also prepared addresses to the king and people of Great Britain and fixed the 16th day of May following for a second congress.

258. Summary of Causes of Revolution.—In their gifts of territory as well as in their appointments of colonial governors, the British sovereigns were careless of the welfare of their American subjects. Parliament considered the colonies as existing solely for the benefit of the commerce and manufactures of Great Britain, and passed navigation laws in accordance with this idea. For years these laws were evaded, but at the close of the French Wars, England determined to enforce them and also to tax the colonists. The Americans declared there should be no taxation without representation. Their determined resistance to the Stamp Act

¹ Called “Continental” Congress to distinguish it from “Provincial” Congress, a name applied to the revolutionary Legislatures of several of the colonies.

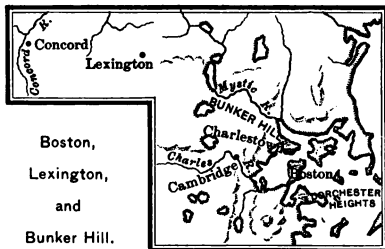
caused its repeal, but other taxes were soon afterward imposed. In a quarrel between British troops and citizens of Boston the troops fired into the crowd, killing several persons (1770). The first bloodshed in resistance to unjust taxation occurred at Alamance, North Carolina, 1771. Determined not to pay the tax on tea, colonial merchants refused to receive it, and at Boston three shiploads were thrown into the sea. England having taken steps to punish Boston, all the colonies showed their sympathy. A congress of delegates from twelve colonies met in Philadelphia, 1774, approved the resistance of Massachusetts, and demanded the repeal of the unjust laws.

259. Thought Questions.— Show how each of the following causes influenced the separation between the colonies and the mother country: (1) the French wars; (2) overthrow of the French power in America; (3) conduct of the king of England; (4) feeling of British merchants toward the colonists; (5) action of Parliament; (6) course of royal governors. Is there a stamp act in force in the United States to-day? Why is it not resisted? Why were the writs of assistance so much more objectionable than our modern search-warrants, which authorize a sheriff to enter a citizen's house? What excuse had the British government for taxing the colonists? How might Great Britain have imposed a tax with the consent of the Americans? Why was she not willing to do this? What Englishmen sympathized with the Americans in their resistance? How do you suppose the owners of the tea regarded the destruction of their property by the men of Boston? What was the justification of the act? What colonies took the lead in resistance to the British government? Name the prominent leaders in the different colonies.

BEGINNINGS OF THE WAR.

260. Lexington and Concord.— General Gage, who was stationed at Boston with 3,000 British troops, was appointed by the king governor of Massachusetts. The colonial Assembly met in defiance of the new governor's proclamation, and voted to equip 12,000 men and provide supplies for them. General Gage fortified Boston Neck and seized the military stores in the neighborhood. Learning that the colonists had other stores at Concord, eighteen miles from Boston, he sent eight hundred men by night to destroy them, ordering them to

stop at Lexington and arrest the patriot leaders, Hancock and Adams. His plan, however, was discovered, and Paul Revere, "all booted and spurred," was ready to spread the alarm.



The moment the British troops started, he sprang into his saddle and dashed madly through the neighboring villages on his famous midnight ride, to arouse the people. Thus warning was given, and when the troops reached

Lexington at sunrise, April 19th, they found about fifty citizens drawn up on the village green. "Disperse, ye villains!" shouted Major Pitcairn, the British leader. The patriots refused to



Lexington Common and Meeting-House.

obey, and a skirmish followed in which the Americans were compelled to retreat with the loss of eight killed and several wounded. By the time the British reached Concord, most of the

stores had been concealed. They hastily destroyed all they could find, and after another skirmish at Concord Bridge, began the return march to Boston. The whole country was now aroused. From every village and farm militiamen came pouring in until the roadside fairly swarmed with marksmen. An incessant and deadly fire was kept up upon the weary British troops. The retreat became more and more disorderly, and had not reënforcements come out from Boston to meet them, it is probable that the whole force would have been killed or captured. The total loss of the British was two hundred and seventy-three; of the Americans, ninety-three. The British had not gained the object of their expedition, while their troops had barely escaped capture.

261. Effect of the News; the Mecklenburg Declaration.—

The news that British regulars had been chased by American "peasants" caused great mortification in England. The gov-

ernment became more fixed in its determination to crush the spirit of resistance in the colonies. In America the news was hailed with joy. Every one realized that war had begun. From Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island troops hurried to join the men of Massachusetts, who were besieging the British in Boston. The important forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, were surprised and



A "Minute-Man."

captured by Vermont companies. The Middle and Southern colonies at once took steps to organize and train their militia. A party of Georgians seized the royal powder magazine at

Savannah, and sent five hundred pounds of the captured powder to the patriots at Boston.

The citizens of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, met in the month of May and adopted the famous Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, renouncing the authority of all crown officers in America, declaring that the Continental Congress and the Legislatures of the several colonies possessed all the powers of government, and asserting that their own county officers should act independently of the British Crown. This was more than a year before the independence of the united colonies was declared.

262. Bunker Hill.—The British sent fresh troops to Boston, until their forces numbered ten thousand men. Sixteen thousand New England militia had gathered just outside the city. The colonists determined to fortify Bunker Hill on Charlestown peninsula, in order to prevent the march of the British into the country. By mistake in the darkness of the night they fortified Breed's Hill, an eminence overlooking Boston. When the British awoke and saw the breastworks of the Americans on the hill within easy cannon shot, they realized they must either abandon the city or capture the threatening fortifications. On the 17th of June the British troops crossed over to Charlestown, set fire to the village and began the ascent of the coveted hill. The colonists watched in silence until the advancing column was within fifty yards, then opened fire with such deadly effect that the British troops broke and fled down the hill. A second attempt to storm the breast-



Bunker Hill Monument.

works had a like disastrous result; a third assault was successful. The ammunition of the Americans had given out, and they slowly retreated from Charlestown peninsula with a loss of about four hundred and fifty. The British lost over one thousand killed and wounded.

263. Second Continental Congress. — Three weeks after the battle of Lexington the second Continental Congress met at Philadelphia. John Hancock, of Massachusetts, was chosen president of the Congress, to succeed Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, who had been called home. While not yet ready for independence, Congress determined to make united resistance to British oppression. They voted to raise a "continental army" of twenty thousand, whose expenses were to be apportioned to the several colonies. The New England troops around Boston were to be adopted as the nucleus of the army. One of the most important acts of Congress was the selection of a commander-in-chief. George Washington, of Virginia, by his skillful management of the colonial troops in Braddock's disastrous expedition in the French and Indian war, and by the ability he displayed in the subsequent capture of Fort Duquesne, had become the most prominent American soldier. At the suggestion of John Adams, he was unanimously chosen to command the American forces (June 19, two days after the battle of Bunker Hill).

264. Washington Takes Command. — It was just two weeks after the battle of Bunker Hill that Washington reached the vicinity of Boston, and took command of the patriot army. The men were undisciplined, poorly supplied with guns and ammunition, enlisted for short periods of time, and dependent for support upon their various local authorities. Besides all these difficulties, the commander-in-chief had no organized central government to rely on. Undaunted, he began at once the task

of organizing, drilling, and equipping the troops. Eight months were spent by Washington in this work and in strengthening the fortifications around Boston, while thoughtless critics were censuring him for his apparent inactivity.

265. Expedition against Canada. — An expedition against Canada was decided upon for the double purpose of preventing an attack from that quarter and of inducing the Canadians to join their southern neighbors against the British. A thousand men under Colonel Benedict Arnold



Washington Elm (under which Washington took Command).

left Washington's army, and advanced by way of the Kennebec River and the Maine woods. After a journey of frightful struggle with starvation, cold, and fatigue, they were joined by a force under General Montgomery, who had traveled due north from Ticonderoga by the Lake Champlain route. Montreal was captured by Montgomery, and the combined forces, now numbering hardly twelve hundred men, attacked Quebec. Montgomery was killed in the assault, and Arnold was desperately wounded. Part of the attacking force was captured; the rest withdrew. Soon afterward Montreal was re-taken by the British, and the remnant of the colonial army was driven from Canada. Thus ended in disastrous failure the Canada expedition.

266. Evacuation of Boston. — Dorchester Heights overlook Boston from the south, and command the city even more effectually than does Bunker Hill. Having at last, in the spring of

1776, received some cannon heavy enough for his purpose, Washington secretly fortified these heights. The British, remembering the lesson of Bunker Hill, refrained from attacking the fortifications, and being unable to hold the city longer, sailed away to Halifax, Nova Scotia (May 17). By this brilliant achievement of Washington, many valuable military stores fell into the hands of the American army, and New England was freed from British troops for the first time in six years.

267. The King's Authority Overthrown; Fighting in Virginia and North Carolina.—One by one the royal governors fled from the country, and the people proceeded to choose their successors and organize governments similar to the state governments of to-day. The governors of Georgia and New Jersey, having failed to resign their offices, were arrested and kept under guard. Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, seized a quantity of powder at Williamsburg and tried to arm the slaves, promising freedom to those who would join him. His force was beaten by the Virginians near Norfolk, and he sought refuge in an English ship. He afterward avenged himself by setting fire to Norfolk. In North Carolina a battle occurred at Moore's Creek (February 1776), in which one thousand militiamen completely routed a force of sixteen hundred Tories, who were on their way to the coast to coöperate with an expected British fleet. This battle aroused the Carolinians as Lexington did the New Englanders. Ten thousand men quickly assembled to resist the landing of the British.

268. Attack on the Carolina Coast.—The British were led to believe that with the aid of Tory sympathizers in the colony, North Carolina could be easily conquered, and thus the Southern colonies could be cut in two. Several vessels under Sir Henry Clinton were sent from Boston to the North Carolina coast, where they were to coöperate with the fleet under Admiral Parker, which had sailed from Ireland. Storms delayed

Parker's fleet, and the bold spirit of the North Carolina patriots deterred Clinton from attempting a landing (§ 267). The combined British fleet then sailed south with the intention of taking Charleston, the largest city in the South. The Continental Congress sent General Charles Lee with a force of Virginians and North Carolinians to relieve the town.

269. Battle of Fort Moultrie. — On an island just outside Charleston harbor, Colonel Moultrie had thrown up a fortification of palmetto logs (afterward called Fort Moultrie). The British fleet opened a heavy fire upon this fort (June 28). Meanwhile Clinton landed some troops on the east end of the island, so as to attack the fort on land and sea at the same time. The fire from the British guns was incessant, but their balls either flew above the low fortifications or sank harmlessly into its spongy palmetto walls. The Americans fired less



Jasper replacing the Flag at Fort Moultrie.

frequently, but their well-aimed shots proved so destructive to the British forces that they withdrew from the attack with a loss of life six times as great as that of their opponents.¹ After

¹ In the midst of the battle, the flag which floated over the smoking guns of the fort suddenly disappeared from view. A British shot had broken the flagstaff, and it fell outside the walls. While the balls were flying thickest a brave young officer,

spending three weeks repairing his damaged ships, Parker sailed away to New York.

270. Independence Declared. — In the early spring of 1776, soon after the battle of Moore's Creek, North Carolina authorized her delegates in Congress to concur with delegates from other colonies in declaring independence. In May, Massachusetts and Virginia separately renounced their dependence on Great Britain. At the same time Virginia went a step further and instructed her delegates to propose to Congress "to declare the United Colonies free and independent States." In



The Old State House, Philadelphia, in which the Declaration of Independence was adopted and the Constitution of the United States framed.

obedience to these instructions, on the 8th of June Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, moved "that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States." This motion was seconded by John Adams, of Massachusetts. After warm discussion the question was postponed until July 1, in order that express instructions might be obtained

from all the colonies. By that time every colony except New York had approved the step proposed, and on July 4 Congress unanimously adopted a formal Declaration of Independence. The delegates from New York refrained from voting; but five days later New York formally ratified the Declaration, and her delegates then signed it. The news of the adoption of the Declaration, which was received at the same time as that of the brilliant success at Fort Moultrie, created the wildest joy

Sergeant Jasper, sprang over the defenses, in plain view of the enemy, seized the flag, and planted it again on the walls of the fort.

throughout the country. Everywhere there were torch-light processions, ringing of bells, firing of guns, and other signs of delight and approval.

271. The Declaration.—The Declaration was written by Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, chairman of a committee of Congress, of which John Adams and Benjamin Franklin were members. It contains among other statements the following :

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident :—That all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed ; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government. . . . The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations. . . . To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. . . .

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people. . . .

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction [Parliament] foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws ; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation :

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us ; . . .

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world ;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent ;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury ; . . .

For taking away our charters ; . . .

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever. . . .

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people. . . .

Our British brethren, . . . too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, . . . hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, . . . do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved. . . . And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

272. The New Government. — At the same time that the committee was appointed to draw up the Declaration of Independence, another committee was named to prepare a plan of government. Twelve days after the adoption of the Declaration, this second committee submitted to Congress the first Constitution of the United States, entitled, "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States." It was adopted by Congress and then submitted to the several states for their ratification. In the year 1779 all the states had adopted the articles save Maryland, and Congress proceeded to exercise the powers thereby conferred. (See § 328.)

273. Summary of Beginnings of the War. — The war began in Massachusetts with the fight at Lexington (April 19, 1775), followed a month later by that of Bunker Hill, both of which had the effect of victories for the Americans. The second Continental Congress determined upon united resistance, and appointed Washington commander-in-chief of the Continental army. In the spring of 1776 Washington compelled the British to evacuate Boston. An expedition against Canada ended in failure. A party of militia gained a victory at Moore's Creek, North Carolina, over a large force of Tories. A British attack on Fort Moultrie, South Carolina, was defeated. On July 4, 1776, Congress declared the independence of the colonies, and steps were taken to form a new government.

274. Thought Questions. — How did it happen that the war began in Massachusetts rather than in some other colony? Why did not the battle of Alamance have such an immediate and widespread effect as the battle

of Lexington? Give instances of resistance to British tyranny in North Carolina; in Massachusetts; in Virginia; in Georgia; in New Jersey. Aside from Washington's preëminent fitness for the position of commander-in-chief, why was the selection of a Virginian or a Southerner desirable? What were the causes of the failure of the Canada expedition? How do you account for the refusal of the Canadians to join the colonies in resistance to Great Britain? If the British had succeeded at Fort Moultrie, what change in the theatre of war would probably have occurred? Which was the greater rebel, Washington or Bacon? What punishment were the American leaders liable to receive in case of the failure of their cause? What are "unalienable" rights? Name those mentioned in the Declaration of Independence. When, according to the Declaration, may a people alter or abolish their form of government? Which "injuries and usurpations" enumerated in the Declaration were most galling to the colonists? What was the full title of the first constitution of the United States? What does this title suggest to have been the leading idea of the framers of the Articles? What previous confederation had existed among the colonies?

STRUGGLE FOR THE MIDDLE STATES.

(July 1776–July 1778.)

275. The Plan of the British. — Great Britain now began active operations for the subjugation of her rebellious colonies. A powerful fleet under Admiral Howe was sent from England with an army of trained soldiers, including a strong force of hired German troops.¹ The plan of the British was to attack our coast-line in the center, and by forcibly occupying one or more of the Middle States to cut off New England from the South. Accordingly, for the next two years (July, 1776, to July, 1778) we shall find the war to consist mainly of a great struggle for the possession of the Hudson and Delaware rivers. The military events may be grouped under three heads: (1) Campaigns around New York City; (2) Campaigns in northern and central New York; (3) Campaigns around Philadelphia.

¹ These German troops were Hessians, from the district of Hesse-Cassel. The employment of foreign hirelings to subdue British-born subjects became a leading cause of American hatred for the mother-country.

I. CAMPAIGNS AROUND NEW YORK CITY.

276. Battle of Long Island. — In accordance with the plan just mentioned, New York was the first point of attack by the British. Washington suspecting their intention hastened from Boston to oppose them. In order to defend the city of New York and its approaches, he was compelled to scatter his forces over a line of twenty miles. About half of his army, under General Putnam, was stationed on Long Island at Brooklyn Heights, commanding the city. Howe's army soon arrived from Halifax, and was reinforced by the fleets of Admiral Howe (brother of the General) fresh from England, and of Admiral Parker, who had come from the defeat at Fort Moultrie. General Howe determined to capture Putnam's division,



General Howe.

and with that purpose landed twenty thousand soldiers on the southwest shore of Long Island. On the 27th of August a battle took place, in which the American advance-guard was defeated with the loss of more than one thousand prisoners, besides many killed and wounded. Before storming Putnam's main force on Brooklyn Heights, Howe waited for his fleet to come up. Meanwhile Washington crossed over to Long Island from New York, and having collected every available

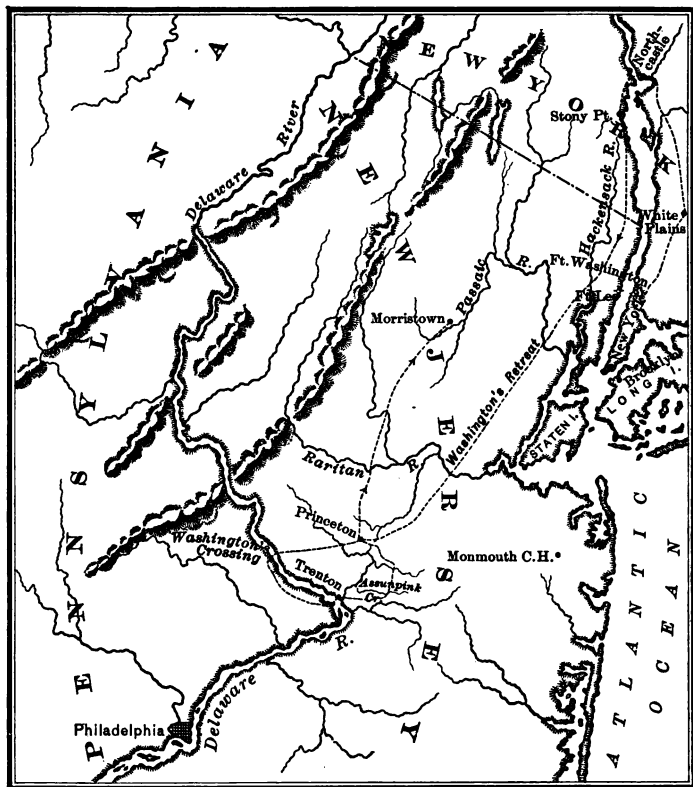
boat and fishing craft, safely conducted the remnant of Putnam's troops across to New York by night under cover of a heavy fog.

277. British occupy New York; Washington's Retreat Northward. — With the British fleet in possession of the harbor, and their troops occupying Brooklyn heights, it was impossible for the American army to hold New York. Washington withdrew from the city to the northern end of Manhattan Island, and was soon compelled by Howe's superior force to cross over to the mainland east of the Hudson. The whole of Manhattan Island thus fell into the hands of the British, with the exception of Fort Washington, which, with Fort Lee on the west bank of the Hudson, guarded the river. There was an indecisive engagement at White Plains between Howe's forces and the retreating Americans. Washington then retired to North Castle, while Howe suddenly turned and hurried back toward New York. He had just learned from an American deserter of the position and strength of the defenses at Fort Washington, and had decided to attack that fortification. Its garrison made a gallant defense, but was compelled to surrender. Three thousand prisoners, besides a large quantity of stores, fell into the hands of the British.¹ To the Americans, this was one of the heaviest losses of the war.

278. Retreat across New Jersey. — Washington, fearing that Howe meditated an advance on Philadelphia, left half of his army under General Charles Lee at North Castle, while he crossed the Hudson into New Jersey with the remainder to watch Howe's movements. On the approach of the British General Cornwallis, Fort Lee was evacuated, and Washington was compelled to retreat. Meanwhile he sent repeated orders to General Lee to bring over his half of the army, that he might be able to oppose the enemy. But Lee was jealous of

¹ Insomuch as the width of the Hudson at this point was so great that Forts Washington and Lee were unable to prevent British ships from passing up the river, Washington had directed the former fort to be evacuated. But in the absence of positive orders, and in deference to a message from Congress not to abandon the fort, the officers in command had failed to carry out Washington's plan.

Washington. He pretended to misunderstand, and sent various excuses.¹ Washington, with his little force of hardly three thousand men, unable to risk a battle, continued to retreat across New Jersey, his men discouraged, poorly clad, and suffer-



ing from the intense cold. Reaching the Delaware he crossed the river, taking with him every boat that could be found for

¹ When Lee at last started toward Washington he was surprised and captured by a small British force while spending the night at a country-house some distance from his army. (This Lee was not connected with the Lees of Virginia.)





WASHINGTON CROSSING THE DELAWARE.

miles in either direction. When the British arrived they found it impossible to cross. They then went into winter quarters, separating their army into several divisions, the main body being stationed at Princeton, and a force of fifteen hundred Hessians at Trenton.

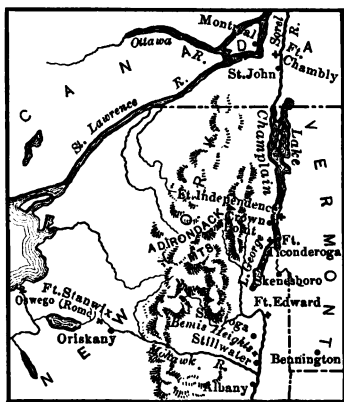
279. Battle of Trenton. — Everything now looked gloomy for the Americans. Washington's men were so much discouraged that when their time expired many refused to reënlist, and his little army was rapidly decreasing in numbers. In response to Howe's proclamation offering pardon and protection to all who would swear allegiance to the British crown, hundreds of wealthy persons were abandoning the American cause. General Cornwallis, thinking the war was over, prepared to sail for England. Washington saw that unless some success was won to revive the drooping spirits of his countrymen, the cause of liberty would be lost. He formed the daring plan of crossing the Delaware, now dangerous with floating ice, and attacking the British force at Trenton. On Christmas night he safely conducted his men across the stream, and advancing through snow and sleet, took the enemy completely by surprise. With the loss of only four men (two killed and two frozen to death) Washington captured the entire force of over one thousand Hessian soldiers, and crossed back into Pennsylvania with his prisoners and booty.

280. Battle of Princeton. — Four days later Washington again crossed the Delaware and occupied Trenton. Meanwhile Cornwallis hastily abandoned his purpose of embarking for England, and led part of his troops from Princeton to attack the American forces at Trenton. After some skirmishing night came on, and Cornwallis decided to wait till next day for reënforcements. Washington's position was now most critical. Behind him was the river full of floating ice. If the British should force him from his entrenchments there was no way of

escape, and a surrender seemed inevitable. Cornwallis remarked that he had "run down the old fox at last." But again the genius of the American commander turned defeat into victory. Ordering a few of his soldiers to go within hearing distance of his enemy and to pretend to throw up entrenchments, others to keep his camp-fires burning, Washington secretly withdrew his army from its perilous position, stole around Cornwallis, and at sunrise attacked and defeated the British force at Princeton (January 3d), capturing nearly five hundred prisoners. The sound of cannon behind him was the first hint Cornwallis had that his enemy had escaped. He hastened to the rescue of his men, but the "old fox" had out-generaled him. Washington had withdrawn to Morristown Heights, where the British made no attempt to follow. A general retreat of the British to the vicinity of New York ensued.

2. CAMPAIGNS IN NORTHERN NEW YORK.

281. Plan of the British.—While Howe was taking possession of New York City, a British force from Canada had made an unsuccessful expedition against the northern part of the state. Arnold, in command of a small American fleet on Lake Champlain, made an heroic resistance, but was forced to abandon his ships and retire within the defenses of Ticonderoga. The British general feared to attack the fort, and withdrew his army to Canada. The next year (1777) a more carefully prepared plan was adopted. Three separate armies were to penetrate the state from different directions. One



army under General Burgoyne was to descend from the north, by way of Lake Champlain and the Hudson, as far as Albany. A second force, much smaller than the first, was to go up the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario, land at Oswego, and advancing from the west, capture Fort Stanwix in central New York, then join Burgoyne at Albany: At the same time General Howe's army at New York was to ascend the Hudson, and unite with the two other forces. Thus would the conquest of New York be complete.

282. Burgoyne's Advance.—Burgoyne, with eight thousand men splendidly armed and equipped, sailed up the Sorrel River and Lake Champlain, unopposed until he reached Ticonderoga. After a brief resistance, the garrison abandoned this stronghold, and Burgoyne advanced to the head of Lake George. General Schuyler, commanding the American forces, slowly retreated to Bemis Heights on the Hudson, about thirty miles above Albany. Burgoyne's advance was now attended with the greatest difficulty. His line of march lay through a swampy wilderness through which his enemies had completely obstructed every road by cutting down trees across his path and destroying bridges. He could procure no food from the surrounding country, and found great trouble in getting supplies from Canada.

283. Bennington and Fort Stanwix.—Learning that the Americans had stores of provisions at Bennington, Vermont, twenty miles distant, Burgoyne sent one thousand men to capture them. These troops were attacked by General Stark with an army of hastily collected New England militia, and almost the entire British force was killed or captured. Meanwhile the British general, St. Leger, with an army of British and Indians, had advanced from Lake Ontario to support Burgoyne, and was now besieging Fort Stanwix. Schuyler sent Arnold to relieve the fort. By a stratagem Arnold suc-

ceeded in creating a panic in St. Leger's troops. They abandoned the siege and fled to the west, hopelessly scattered. To add to Burgoyne's difficulties, he did not receive the expected support of Howe's army at New York, Howe having failed to get orders to that effect until too late. The news of the successes at Bennington and Fort Stanwix, and the wrath occasioned by the atrocities of the Indian allies of the British brought hundreds of recruits to the American army and enabled Schuyler to make preparations for a battle.

284. Battle of Saratoga. — At this critical moment news came that Congress had removed Schuyler from command and appointed Gates in his stead.¹ Schuyler bore the injustice nobly and lent every assistance to his successor. On September 19, near Saratoga, a desperate but indecisive battle was fought. Both armies then remained three weeks in their intrenchments, Burgoyne's position growing daily more perilous on account of his scant supplies and the increasing numbers of his opponents. Then another battle was fought on the same ground (October 7). Gates had quarreled with Arnold and stripped him of his command. But nevertheless Arnold without orders rushed into the thickest of the fight, placed himself at the head of his old command, who received him with cheers, and won the victory while Gates stayed in his tent.

285. Surrender of Burgoyne. — Burgoyne, with his army beaten and dispirited, cut off from supplies, and surrounded by a force three times as large as his own, decided to surrender. On the 17th of October the papers were signed, and the entire British army of over six thousand men laid down their arms. It was agreed that a passage to Great Britain should be granted to the troops on condition of their not serving again in the

¹ Not long before this, Congress had grossly offended Arnold by promoting subordinate officers over him, on the ground that his state, Connecticut, already had two generals. The unjust treatment of Schuyler was also due to state prejudices.

war. (Congress failed to carry out this agreement. The captured men remained in this country as prisoners of war until the close of the struggle.)

286. Results of the Surrender.—After this great victory the American forces occupied Ticonderoga and all the forts on the northern frontier. The British plan to cut the United States in two by seizing the Hudson valley had failed. The news of the capture of a whole British army awakened the wildest joy from Maine to Georgia, completely counteracting the depressing effects of Brandywine and Germantown (§§ 288 and 289). Best of all, the victory hastened the decision of the French government to acknowledge the independence of the United States and to form an alliance with them. From the beginning of the struggle the sympathies of France had been with the Americans and against her old enemy, England. Her brave Lafayette had voluntarily left country and friends to fight for American liberty. Shiploads of supplies and large sums of money had been secretly sent over. The American commissioners in Paris, Franklin, Deane, and Arthur Lee, had been urging an alliance. In February, 1778, a treaty of alliance was signed, and a French fleet was sent over to aid the Americans.



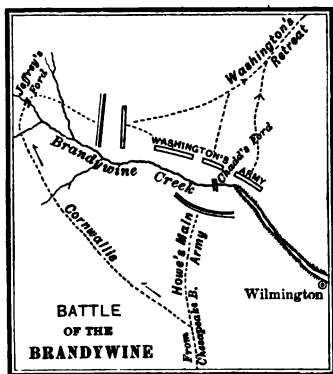
Lafayette.

3. CAMPAIGNS AROUND PHILADELPHIA.

287. Plan of the British.—Howe, instead of ascending the Hudson to coöperate with Burgoyne, as every one expected him to do, decided to advance upon Philadelphia, the "rebel capital." His first intention was to lead his army from New

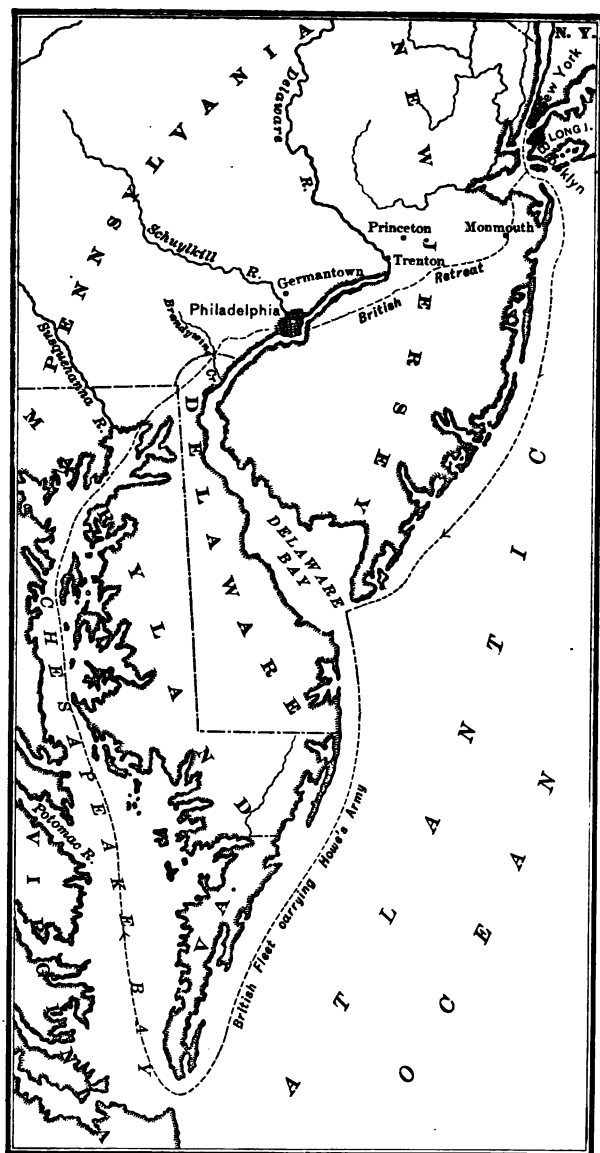
York by land, but the skillful manœuvering of Washington caused him to abandon this attempt. He then embarked his troops, coasted south, entered Chesapeake Bay, and sailed up to its head, where he landed his army for their march to Philadelphia. As soon as Washington was certain of his enemy's movements, he hastened to oppose him, while Schuyler and Gates were endeavoring to check Burgoyne in northern New York.

288. Battle of the Brandywine. — To oppose the British advance on Philadelphia, Washington stationed his army at Chad's Ford on Brandywine Creek, directly in their line of march. Howe divided his forces and while one division remained at Chad's Ford, Cornwallis led another across the stream several miles above, and fell upon Washington's flank. Although not routed, the Americans were driven from the field with heavy loss (September 11, 1777, eight days before the first battle of Saratoga). This was the first



American battle in which the young French Marquis Lafayette participated. Both he and the Polish Count Pulaski showed conspicuous gallantry in the fight.

289. Philadelphia taken; Battle of Germantown. — The British army then took possession of Philadelphia, marching proudly into the city with bands playing and colors flying. Congress hastily adjourned to Lancaster, then to York, Pennsylvania. The main body of Howe's troops was stationed at Germantown, five miles from Philadelphia. Here on the 4th of October (three days before the second battle of Saratoga)



Washington attacked them. His plans were admirable, and doubtless would have been successful, had not a dense fog prevented their being carried out promptly. Again his troops were compelled to withdraw from the field. Soon afterward the forts guarding the mouth of the Delaware were captured by the British. This gave them possession of the river and enabled them to bring their supplies directly to Philadelphia by water.

290. A Winter of Suffering and Gloom. — The British now went into winter quarters at Philadelphia, while Washington retired to Valley Forge, about twenty-five miles west of the city. This winter of 1777-78 was the gloomiest period of the war. Washington's men had to build the rude log huts which were to protect them from the cold. Their food was flour mixed with water, which they baked at the open fires. Many of the men were without shirts, and hundreds were barefooted. Blankets were so scarce that the soldiers often had to sit by the fire all night to keep from freezing. Sleeping on the cold ground produced sickness, which spread rapidly among the troops. In the midst of all this suffering a few of Washington's jealous subordinate officers were plotting for his overthrow. His defeats at Brandywine and Germantown were contrasted with the success of Schuyler and Gates against Burgoyne. A conspiracy known as the Conway Cabal, from its leader, General Conway, endeavored to weaken Washington's influence with Congress and the country, that he might be displaced from command, and Gates appointed in his stead. The conspirators made some headway in Congress, but their wretched plot was at last made public, and only served to strengthen Washington in the esteem of his countrymen. Congress at this time was woefully inefficient. Many of its members feared a standing army, and refused to follow Washington's advice for the relief of the troops. The ablest mem-

bers of the first and second Congresses had accepted positions either in the army or in their state governments. "The Continental Congress and the currency," wrote Gouverneur Morris in 1778, "have greatly depreciated."

291. British Retire from Philadelphia to New York.—Although Howe had driven Washington's army from two battlefields, and had occupied Philadelphia, yet he had gained no decisive victory, in spite of the fact that his army outnumbered his opponent's two to one. The British government, dissatisfied with the results of his campaign, recalled General Howe, and appointed Sir Henry Clinton his successor. The expected arrival of the French fleet now made it necessary for the British to concentrate their forces at New York. Accordingly, Philadelphia was evacuated, and General Clinton started his army across New Jersey (June 18, 1778).

292. Battle of Monmouth.—Washington hastened from Valley Forge in pursuit. The command of the American advance fell to General Charles Lee,¹ but being opposed to an attack he declined to act, and Washington appointed Lafayette in his stead. Lee afterward changed his mind, and demanded his place. Lafayette, to save embarrassment to Washington, at once yielded. The British army was overtaken near Monmouth, and an engagement began. Lee, apparently having no faith in the ability of his troops to stand against the British regulars, ordered them to retire, greatly to the disgust of his men. As soon as word was carried to Washington, he dashed to the front at full speed, meeting Lee with his men in full retreat. Overwhelmed with indignation at Lee's conduct, he rebuked that general in severest terms, and ordered him to the rear. Then rallying the troops, he held his ground till night ended the conflict. At midnight Clinton stole away, leaving

¹ Lee had been exchanged for the British general, Prescott, whom a few Americans had surprised and captured.

his dead unburied. Neither side had been defeated, yet in effect the battle was a victory for the Americans. The next day Lee wrote an insolent note to Washington, demanding an apology for his language on the battlefield. He was placed under arrest and tried for disobedience to orders, misbehavior on the field, and disrespect to the commander-in-chief. Convicted on all three charges, he was suspended from his command for one year. He never returned to the army, but spent the rest of his life as a hermit on his estate.

293. Indian Massacres. — In the northeastern part of Pennsylvania, where the Susquehanna river breaks through the mountains, is the beautiful valley of Wyoming. In the summer of 1778 a party of British and Indians swept down upon this peaceful region. The men were nearly all away in the Continental armies. A small force hastily collected to oppose the invaders was beaten. Scenes of horrible cruelty followed. The whole valley was laid waste, helpless women and children were burned at the stake, or put to death with sickening tortures. Cherry Valley, in central New York, was attacked a few months later, and its inhabitants were treated in the same horrible manner. In the summer of the next year (1779), Washington sent an army under General Sullivan into western New York to break up the strongholds of the Indians and Tories in that region. Sullivan defeated the enemy's force, and proceeded to burn their villages, destroy their growing crops, and cut down their fruit trees. The Indians never recovered from this crushing blow.

294. The War Transferred to the South. — After the battle of Monmouth Clinton retired to New York, while Washington remained in striking distance of the city to watch every movement of his enemy. Save for an unsuccessful attack upon the British garrison at Newport, Rhode Island, by a land force under General Sullivan, aided by a French fleet (in the sum-

mer of 1778), there was no other military movement of any consequence in the states north of Virginia during the rest of the war. The cherished plan of the British to cut the United States in two by seizing the middle division had failed. Henceforth they directed their efforts to conquering the Southern states.

295. Summary of War in the Middle States. — The plan of the British was to cut the United States in two by taking possession of the Hudson or Delaware rivers. They first attempted to seize the Hudson. General Howe won the battle of Long Island, then took New York City, and drove Washington up to North Castle. Fort Washington on the Hudson was surrendered to the British. Washington, having crossed into New Jersey, was compelled to retreat across that state, escaping over the Delaware. On Christmas night he won a brilliant victory at Trenton, and another ten days later at Princeton. The British general, Burgoyne, supported by St. Leger, made an attempt to seize the Hudson River from the north. This campaign ended in the surrender of Burgoyne to Gates at Saratoga, October 17, 1777. France then formed an alliance with the United States, and sent over ships and men to our aid. Meanwhile General Howe determined to seize Philadelphia and the Delaware River. Advancing by way of Chesapeake Bay, he gained the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, and occupied Philadelphia. Washington's army spent a terrible winter at Valley Forge. The expected arrival of the French fleet caused the British to retire to New York. Washington followed them and fought an indecisive battle at Monmouth. The war was then transferred to the South.

296. Thought Questions. — Why was it so difficult for Washington to defend New York City? Why was control of the Hudson so important? On what previous occasions did New York City surrender to a foreign fleet? In the campaigns around New York City, mention two instances in which Washington's orders were not obeyed. What was the result in each case? What results might have followed if Washington had attempted to hold New York City? What evidence of good generalship did Washington show in the escape from Long Island and the subsequent retreat? in his operations during the two weeks beginning Christmas day, 1776? Mention the battles in which General Arnold has taken part up to this point in the war. What were the causes of the failure of the British attempt to take the Hudson River from the north? Who deserves most

credit for the capture of Burgoyne? Why was France more willing to aid us than was Holland or Spain? In which of the campaigns in the Middle states was the greatest military skill displayed by American commanders? Which campaign was most decisive in its results? Why did the British consider control of the Delaware River important? Were the money and supplies of the French, or their land troops, or their fleet most needed by the Americans? How was Washington hampered by Congress? by his subordinate officers?

THE WAR BEYOND THE FRONTIERS.

(1778-79.)

1. WEST OF THE ALLEGHANIES.

297. Clarke's Conquest of the Illinois Country. — The region between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes was claimed by Virginia under her charter of 1609, but a recent act of Parliament had declared it part of the British Province of Quebec. In 1778, George Rogers Clarke, member of the Virginia Legislature from the "County of Kentucky," formed the bold plan of seizing the British forts between the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. Governor



Clarke's Expedition.

Patrick Henry and the Legislature of Virginia approved the plan, and granted Clarke a small equipment of troops and supplies. Under a leader of less enthusiasm and strength of will than this "Hannibal of the West," the hazardous enterprise would have been a failure. But Clarke's little band,

sometimes marching for days without food, crossed trackless prairies, waded through miles of overflowed river-bottoms, overawed hostile Indians, and finally reaching the British posts in Illinois and Indiana, compelled them to surrender. The neighboring French settlers were made to swear allegiance to Virginia. This territory was at once constituted a county of Virginia, and was named the County of Illinois. The fact that it had been conquered by Clarke, and was held by American troops at the close of the war was the basis of the claim to its ownership made by the United States and finally admitted by Great Britain in the treaty of peace. But for the genius of George Rogers Clarke, the Ohio River, instead of the Great Lakes, would probably have been fixed as the southern boundary of British America.

298. The Indians of the Southwest. — Constant efforts were made by British agents to arouse the Indians on the western frontiers of the Southern states. During the early years of the Revolution, there were frequent conflicts between the savages and the militia of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. In the latter part of the war, the Indians were kept quiet chiefly through the efforts of General Joseph Martin, Indian agent for Virginia, who made his home among them and wielded a great influence over them. It was this peaceful condition of the savages that made the victory at King's Mountain possible, by enabling the frontiersmen who won that battle to leave their homes for a time unprotected.¹

2. ON THE OCEAN.

299. Naval Forces of the United States. — At the beginning of the war Congress organized a little navy of five ships with Esek Hopkins, of Rhode Island, commander-in-chief.

¹ In 1779, Spanish troops under Governor Galvez, of New Orleans, captured the British forts on the lower Mississippi. Within the next two years, they also took Mobile and Pensacola.

Before the war was over, almost every one of these vessels had been captured, or burned to avoid capture. Several states maintained independent naval forces of their own. But the combined navies of Congress and the separate states were unable to cope with the power of Great Britain on the sea. Until the very close of the war, little aid was rendered by the French fleet. Our most effective service on the ocean was performed by the numerous privateers commissioned by Congress. These inflicted untold damage on British commerce.



300. Paul Jones's Victory. — The most noteworthy naval battle of the war was fought on the North Sea, near the coast of England, off Flamborough Head. Here on September 23, 1779, a brilliant victory was gained by an American squadron under Captain John Paul Jones. Jones was a young Scotchman who had emigrated to New England, and had been appointed by Congress, captain in the United States navy. While cruising in the North Sea with a little fleet of French and American ships, Jones attacked two British men-of-war that were escorting a number of merchant vessels. Jones's own ship, the *Bon Homme Richard* (so named from the "Good Man Richard" of Franklin's Almanac) attacked the



Paul Jones.

enemy's *Serapis*. The two ships were lashed together and fought until both took fire, and Jones's vessel was on the point of sinking. At last the *Serapis* surrendered, and Jones had barely transferred his men to the conquered ship when his own vessel sank. The other English ship was also captured.

301. Summary. — Under the authority of the State of Virginia, George Rogers Clarke led a party of militia against the British posts in the Illinois country, then held by Great Britain as part of her Province of Quebec. Clarke's expedition was successful, and the territory north-west of the Ohio was organized as a county of Virginia. Its occupation by Virginian troops had an important bearing on the question of boundary as agreed upon subsequently in the treaty of peace.

The Indians on the western frontiers were a source of constant danger. The expedition of General Sullivan in the North (§ 293), and the efforts of militia leaders together with skillful diplomacy of our Indian agents in the South served to hold them in check. In 1779 Captain Paul Jones gained a brilliant naval victory off the coast of England, over two British men-of-war.

302. Thought Questions. — What independent part did Virginia play in the Revolutionary struggle? What results followed from it? How do you account for French settlements in the Illinois country? Why were the Indians so much less important in the Revolution than in the French wars? Why were so few victories on the ocean won by the United States?

WAR IN THE SOUTH.

303. Plan of the British. — The successful defense of Fort Moultrie in the early part of the war (§ 269) had checked the first attempt of the British to subdue the Southern colonies. Defeated now in the New England and Middle states, they determined to renew their efforts for the subjugation of the South. Their plan was first to overcome Georgia and South Carolina, then from these states to work their way northward. Accordingly Clinton ordered part of his army under command of Colonel Campbell to sail from New York. To oppose this

movement Congress placed General Lincoln in command of the Southern department.

I. IN GEORGIA AND THE CAROLINAS.

304. Fall of Savannah and Augusta. — Savannah, Georgia, was the first point of attack. Before Lincoln could arrive, the small force of defenders had been beaten, and the town had fallen into the hands of the British (December, 1778). The invaders then ascended the Savannah River and captured Augusta. General Prevost, commanding the troops in the British territory of Florida, now took command of the united forces of the enemy.



General Lincoln.

305. Georgia Overrun by the British. — The militia of South Carolina and Georgia rallied under command of Colonels Pickens and Clarke, and defeated a detachment of the British at Kettle Creek, Georgia. Soon afterward, however, a division of Lincoln's army under General Ashe was surprised and beaten at Briar Creek. Georgia seemed now (spring of 1779) completely in the power of the British. The royal governor was reinstated, and the old colonial government restored.

306. Events in the North. — While these events were going on in the South, General Clinton at New York was sending out small marauding parties to various points on the Atlantic coast. In Connecticut, New Jersey, and Virginia, coast towns were plundered and burned, citizens murdered, and ladies insulted. At the same time, Clinton ascended the Hudson and captured the fort guarding the river at Stony Point. Washington sent General Wayne (called "Mad Anthony Wayne" from his desper-

ate bravery) to recapture the place. Wayne determined upon a midnight assault. That the barking of curs might not betray him, he ordered every dog in the vicinity killed. That no shot from his own troops might reveal his plan he made his men unload their guns, and advance with fixed bayonets. Moving in perfect silence, his men reached the British outposts before they were discovered. After a brief conflict the garrison surrendered (July 16, 1779). Three days after this brilliant exploit the captors destroyed the works and evacuated the fort, Washington finding that he could not spare enough men from his army to defend it.

307. Effort to Recapture Savannah. — In the autumn of this year the French fleet, after its unsuccessful attack upon Newport, Rhode Island (§ 294), appeared before Savannah. An assault upon the British defenses was made by the combined forces of the French under D'Estaing and the Americans under Lincoln (October, 1779). The attack was a disastrous failure. Among those killed in the assault were Count Pulaski, a brave Polish officer, and Sergeant Jasper, the hero of Fort Moultrie. Lincoln's army withdrew into South Carolina, and the fleet sailed away to France.

308. British Capture Charleston. — Encouraged by the success of his troops in Georgia, Clinton determined to take charge of the Southern army himself, and to begin the conquest of South Carolina by an attack upon Charleston, the largest city in the South. Leaving a sufficient force in New York to hold Washington at bay, he landed thirty miles below Charleston, and led his army overland toward the city, while his fleet approached the harbor. Washington sent all his Virginia and North Carolina troops to the aid of Lincoln, but still that general's forces were wholly inadequate for the defense of Charleston. The enemy's troops gradually surrounded him on the land side, while their fleet in the midst of a furious thunder-

storm sailed by Fort Moultrie, which guarded the entrance to the harbor, and joined in the attack. On May 12, 1780, Charleston was surrendered, and Lincoln with his whole army of about two thousand men became prisoners of war.

309. South Carolina Overrun by the British.—The surrender of Lincoln's army together with the capture of Charleston was a severe blow to the patriot cause, and a corresponding encouragement to the British. Clinton sent detachments into the interior of the state, and issued a circular, offering



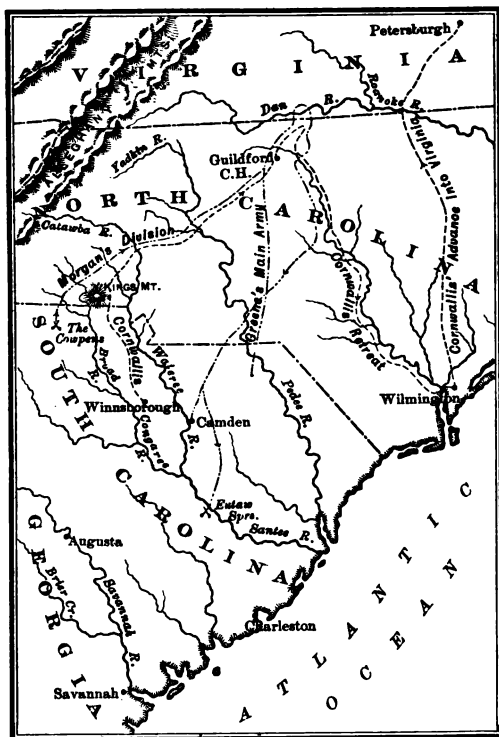
General Sumter.

pardon to all who would return to British allegiance, and calling upon all the people to aid in reëstablishing the royal government under penalty of being treated as rebels and traitors. Then, thinking little else remained to be done, Clinton sailed away to New York, leaving Cornwallis to complete the conquest of the South. Although with no organized army of defense, the spirits of the southern patriots were not broken. Small bands of militia, under such leaders as Marion (the "Swamp Fox"), Sumter (the "Game Cock"),

Pickens, and Clarke, carried on a vigorous warfare of sudden surprises and desperate hand-to-hand combats, keeping up the courage of their countrymen, until the British were finally expelled from the state. "But for Marion and Sumter," wrote the British general, "South Carolina would be at peace."

310. Battle of Camden.—Against the advice of Washington, Congress appointed General Gates to the command of the Southern department, to succeed the captured Lincoln. Of Gates, who was praised as the "conqueror of Burgoyne," great things were expected. With a strong army he hurried south, disregarding the suggestions of his officers and confident of

victory. He encountered the British under Cornwallis near Camden, in the northern part of South Carolina. Each general had decided to surprise the other by a night attack. About two o'clock in the morning (August 16, 1780), their advance



Greene's Campaign. — War in the Carolinas.

guards met and a general conflict followed. The American militia fled at the first charge of the enemy. Our regulars under DeKalb held their ground until their brave leader fell pierced by eleven wounds; then they abandoned the field. Save one brigade of regulars, who retired in good order, the

whole army of Gates was completely routed. Gates himself was borne in the headlong flight far into North Carolina, and that night found him sixty miles from the battlefield without an army. This was the severest defeat an American army had ever suffered. Gates's "Northern laurels" had indeed changed to "Southern willows."

311. Battle of King's Mountain (October 7, 1780).—After his victory at Camden, Cornwallis advanced to Charlotte, North Carolina, the county-seat of the famous Mecklenburg County (§ 261) and a "hornet's nest of rebels" as the British general called it. From here he sent a detachment under General Ferguson to enlist the Tories in the highlands of South Carolina. Ferguson's force of twelve hundred men was attacked at King's Mountain, on the border between the Carolinas, by a band of frontiersmen led by William Campbell, Charles McDonald, John Sevier, and other border chieftains. The British position on the mountain was stormed from three directions. The Carolina backwoodsmen advanced from tree to tree, using their unerring rifles with deadly effect. The British general was killed while leading a charge, and his men surrendered. The victors dispersed for their homes, after having tried by court-martial and hanged for treason nine of their Tory prisoners. This brilliant victory, sometimes called the "Bennington of the South" changed the whole course of the war in this department. It cost Cornwallis a valuable part of his army, and caused him to abandon his plan of invading North Carolina, and to hurry back into South Carolina in order to hold the British posts in that state.

312. Arnold's Treason.—The year 1780 was full of disasters to the American cause. The surrender of Lincoln's army and the destruction of Gates's were now closely followed by the treason of one of our bravest officers in the North. General Benedict Arnold had shown conspicuous courage at

Quebec, on Lake Champlain, and at Saratoga. But Congress had treated him unjustly, and General Gates had wronged him; and he had not the greatness of soul to forget his own slights for his country's sake. After the British evacuation of Philadelphia, Arnold was placed in command of that city. Here he fell in love with a Tory lady. Her influence and that of her family led him to look with favor upon the enemies of his country. His extravagant living and self-willed conduct got him into trouble. He was accused of squandering public funds. On trial, the court acquitted him of intentional dishonesty, but sentenced him to be reprimanded by the commander-in-chief for "imprudence." Washington performed the disagreeable duty with great delicacy. Arnold, stung by the disgrace, however, determined to betray his country. He got himself appointed to the command of West Point, that he might surrender that important post to the British. Clinton sent Major André up the Hudson to confer with him. As André was returning to New York in disguise, he was arrested by three militiamen, who searched him and discovered in his boots papers revealing Arnold's base plot. Word was carried to Arnold at West Point that his plans were discovered. He escaped at once on board a British vessel in the river, and reached New York in safety. Although he failed to deliver up West Point, he received £10,000 and the rank of general in the British army for his treason. Major André was tried as a spy and executed.

313. Greene Placed in Command.—Congress, following Washington's suggestion, now appointed General Greene to succeed the conquered Gates. On reaching the Carolinas, Greene found a difficult task confronting him. The British had possession of Georgia and South Carolina and were ready to advance upon North Carolina. Their troops were well disciplined and equipped; their officers, Cornwallis, Tarleton,

and Rawdon, were bold and skillful. To meet these tremendous odds, Greene had a mere handful of men, the remnant of Gates's conquered army. His troops were without supplies, the people were dispirited. Yet Greene himself was one of the ablest generals of his time, and his genius was worth a dozen armies. Moreover, he was aided by a splendid group of subordinate officers. There was Daniel Morgan, who had



General Greene.

served with distinction at Quebec and Saratoga. Like Arnold, he had been unjustly treated by Congress, and had retired in disgust to his home in Virginia. But on learning of the defeat at Camden, he forgot his wrongs and hastened to the defense of his country. There were those splendid cavalry leaders, Henry Lee (known as Light-horse Harry), father of the distinguished Robert E. Lee, and William Washington, cousin of the commander-

in-chief, besides the militia chieftains, Marion, Sumter, and Pickens, who were ever ready to strike a daring blow. We shall see how all the advantages of the enemy were overcome, and the Southern states recovered from the British.

314. Battle of the Cowpens.—After the defeat at King's Mountain, Cornwallis had withdrawn to Winsboro, in the northern part of South Carolina. Greene advanced into South Carolina, and encamped on the Pedee River directly east of Cornwallis. The American commander now decided to divide his little army. He sent Morgan around the enemy's position to threaten the British posts in the western part of the state. Cornwallis by this time was ready for a second invasion of North Carolina, but he was unwilling to leave Morgan in his rear. Like Greene, the British general then divided his army,

sending a detachment under Tarleton after Morgan. Tarleton overtook Morgan at the Cowpens, a few miles from King's Mountain. In a hotly contested battle the British were defeated. After a desperate single combat with Colonel Washington, Tarleton himself barely escaped with a sword-cut in the hand. This decisive victory deprived Cornwallis of one-third of his army, and severely crippled his movements.

315. Greene's Retreat.— (See map, p. 197.) Morgan now hastened back to reunite his forces with those of Greene. Cornwallis made all speed to intercept him at the fords of the Catawba. Morgan, by a rapid march, reached the river first, and crossed in safety. A sudden rise in the stream prevented the British from crossing at once. Meanwhile Greene placed a subordinate officer in charge of his main army, with orders to retire northward so as to join Morgan's retreating division, while he himself dashed across the country by the shortest roads to Morgan's hard-pressed men. He joined them at the Catawba and at once took charge of the retreat. Cornwallis, having burned all his heavy baggage that might impede his movements, hastened the pursuit. He reached the Yadkin a few hours after the Americans had crossed, but again a sudden rise in the water checked his advance. At Guilford Court House, in northern North Carolina, Greene's main army joined him, but still his force was too small to risk a battle. Continuing the retreat, he reached the Dan River, and crossed over into Virginia. Cornwallis, baffled at last, gave up the pursuit.

316. Guilford Court House.— The British general turned back into North Carolina, and proclaiming that state conquered, called upon the North Carolinians to return to their allegiance to the king. But Greene, by no means beaten, recrossed the Dan, and having received heavy reinforcements, engaged Cornwallis in battle at Guilford Court House. After a desperate conflict in which the bravery of the militia atoned

for their disgraceful conduct at Camden, Greene retreated, leaving the enemy in possession of the field. Cornwallis claimed a victory, yet his loss was so heavy that it was said in England that "another such victory would destroy the British army."

317. Georgia and the Carolinas Recovered. — Cornwallis now began a retreat to Wilmington, on the North Carolina coast. Greene pursued him for some distance, then correctly judging that he had nothing to fear from Cornwallis's army at present, hastened to the relief of South Carolina, in which state several strong posts were held by the British. At Hobkirk Hill, near Camden, Greene, though compelled to retreat, proceeded as usual to reap all the fruits of victory. The British evacuated Camden, and one post after another fell into the hands of the Americans. Eutaw Springs, a drawn battle, was really another victory for Greene. The British retired to Charleston, and during the rest of the war remained cooped up on the coast. Thus, in a little more than a year, Greene's splendid generalship had wrested Georgia and the Carolinas from the control of the British.

2. IN VIRGINIA.

318. Plan of Cornwallis. — The traitor Arnold, with a British force, had been committing ravages in Virginia. He was opposed by a small army under Baron Steuben, an experienced German officer who had come over to aid the Americans. Afterward Lafayette was sent with a body of Northern troops to capture the traitor. Cornwallis, now that he found himself out-generalled by Greene, determined to abandon the Carolinas, march up into Virginia, unite his troops with those of Arnold, and attempt the conquest of this, the most powerful state in the South.

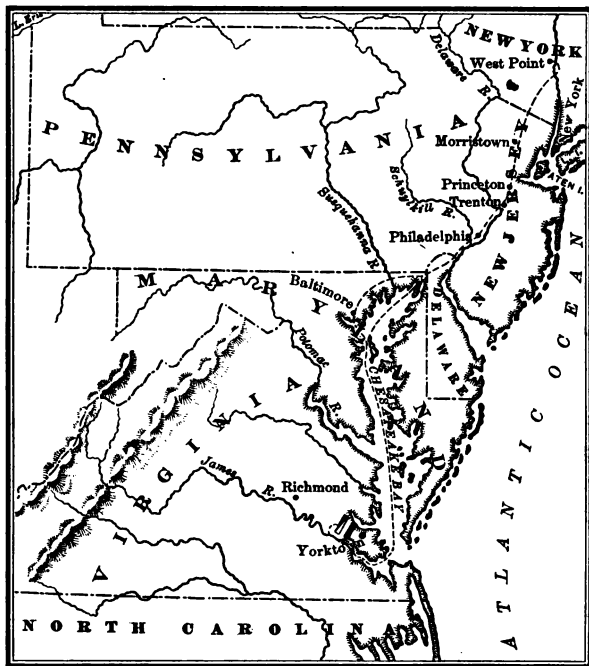
319. Washington's Daring Plan.— So far, the French army and fleet had been of little direct service to the Americans. In fact the great value of the French alliance up to this time had been indirect, in keeping England so busy in other parts of the world that she was unable to concentrate her energies upon her revolted colonies. In the summer of 1781, however, a French fleet under DeGrasse again approached the coast of the United States. Washington now determined to strike a telling blow. His first plan was a joint attack upon New York by his own troops and the allied fleet, hoping thus to overwhelm Clinton's army and end the war. But learning that Cornwallis had come up into Virginia and was stationed near the coast with the army of Lafayette in front of him, Washington formed this daring plan: to hurry his own army four hundred miles southward into Virginia; to join Lafayette; and while the French fleet prevented the escape of Cornwallis, to crush that general's army before Clinton could send him aid from New York.



Lord Cornwallis.

320. Movements of the Armies.— Cornwallis invaded Virginia, Lafayette's small force retreating before him. Clinton, who now feared an attack upon New York, sent word to Cornwallis to keep near the coast, so as to be able to sail to his aid at any moment. Accordingly Cornwallis took position at Yorktown, on a peninsula between the mouths of the James and York Rivers. Meanwhile, as soon as Washington learned that the French fleet had started from the West Indies for Chesapeake Bay, he entered upon the execution of his brilliant plan. Hurling his troops southward with all possible haste and secrecy, he had almost reached the Maryland border before

Clinton understood his movements. Clinton now hastened to send his fleet against the French squadron that had entered Chesapeake Bay. At the same time he ordered Arnold to attack the coast towns of Connecticut, hoping thus to draw



Washington's March upon Yorktown.

Washington back. Both plans failed of their object. The English fleet was driven back from the mouth of the Chesapeake, and Washington, refusing to be enticed from his prey, left Connecticut to take care of itself. Reaching the head of Chesapeake Bay, the American commander completed his swift journey in ships, and took command of the combined armies on Yorktown peninsula.

321. Surrender at Yorktown.— Cornwallis was entrapped. Encamped on a narrow peninsula, the French fleet threatened three sides of his position, while an army twice the size of his own blocked his escape by land. The French troops under General Rochambeau put themselves under Washington's orders, and vied with their American allies in storming the British works. One redoubt after another was taken. Finally, on the 19th of October, Cornwallis surrendered. His troops, eight thousand strong, marched between two long lines of French and American soldiers to lay down their arms, while their bands played an old English air, "The World's Turned Upside Down."

322. Result of the Victory.— Swift messengers sped the news of the glorious victory through the length and breadth of the land. Congress adjourned at once to church for a service of thanksgiving and prayer. The joy of the people knew no limit, for they realized that the capture of this British army must close the war. In England, Lord North's ministry was overthrown, and a new ministry favorable to the United States was chosen. For the last three years plucky old England had been waging war, single-handed and alone, with three of the most powerful nations in the world, France, Spain, and Holland. She now realized that to subdue her rebellious colonies, whose courage and love of freedom equaled her own, was a hopeless task. Moreover, from the beginning of the struggle, a strong minority in Parliament had opposed the war. A few months before the surrender at Yorktown, the younger Pitt had denounced the American war as "most accursed, wicked, barbarous, cruel, unnatural, unjust, and diabolical." Although British troops continued to hold New York, Charleston, and a few other points, no further hostilities followed.

323. Treaty of Peace.— In September, 1783, a final treaty of peace was signed at Paris. Its first provision was as follows: "His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz.: New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia to be free, sovereign and independent States." At the same time England made peace with the other nations with which she had been at war. To Spain she gave back Florida, which had been a British possession since 1763 (§ 202).

324. Summary of the War in the South.— Unsuccessful in the Middle states, the next plan of the British was to occupy Georgia and the Carolinas, and from these states to work their way northward.

Savannah and Augusta were captured by the British, and Georgia was overrun, 1778–79. General Lincoln made an unsuccessful attempt to recapture Savannah. He was himself compelled to surrender at Charleston. His successor, General Gates, was badly beaten at Camden. King's Mountain was a brilliant victory for the American militia. General Greene, successor of Gates, by skillful manœuvering, without gaining any decisive victory, recovered Georgia and the Carolinas from the British. Cornwallis having advanced from North Carolina into Virginia, was besieged at Yorktown by the combined forces of Washington, Lafayette, and the French fleet. He surrendered October 19, 1781. A treaty of peace was made two years later.

325. Thought Questions.— How many years elapsed, after the beginning of the war, before the Southern states were invaded? Why did the British defer their attack on this section? Why did they attempt the subjugation of the South when they did? What was the nature of most of the warfare in the Southern states? In which of his campaigns during the Revolution did Washington display the greatest skill? Whom do you consider the two ablest American generals? The ablest British general? Give grounds for your opinion.

TOPICAL ANALYSIS (WAR OF THE REVOLUTION).

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- 241. **Old Grievances.** {
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 - Conduct of royal governors.
 - Feeling at close of French wars.
- 242. **The Laws of Trade.** {
 - Purpose of the laws.
 - Four requirements.
- 243, 244. **Enforcement of the Laws.** {
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- 245. **The "Parson's Case."** {
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 - Their suit.
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- 246, 247. **Taxation of the Colonies.** {
 - British argument.
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- 248. **The British Parliament.** {
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- 253. **The Mutiny Act.** {
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- 254. **The Battle of Alamance.**
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 - Plans to enforce it.
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- 267. **The King's Authority Overthrown.** { Flight of royal governors.
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- 268, 269. **Attack on the Carolinas.** { The North Carolina coast.
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- 270, 271. **Independence.** { Action of North Carolina.
Of Virginia.
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- 272. **The New Government.** Adoption of a constitution.

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 - 276. **Battle of Long Island.** { Washington's defenses.
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STRUGGLE FOR THE MIDDLE STATES. (Continued.)

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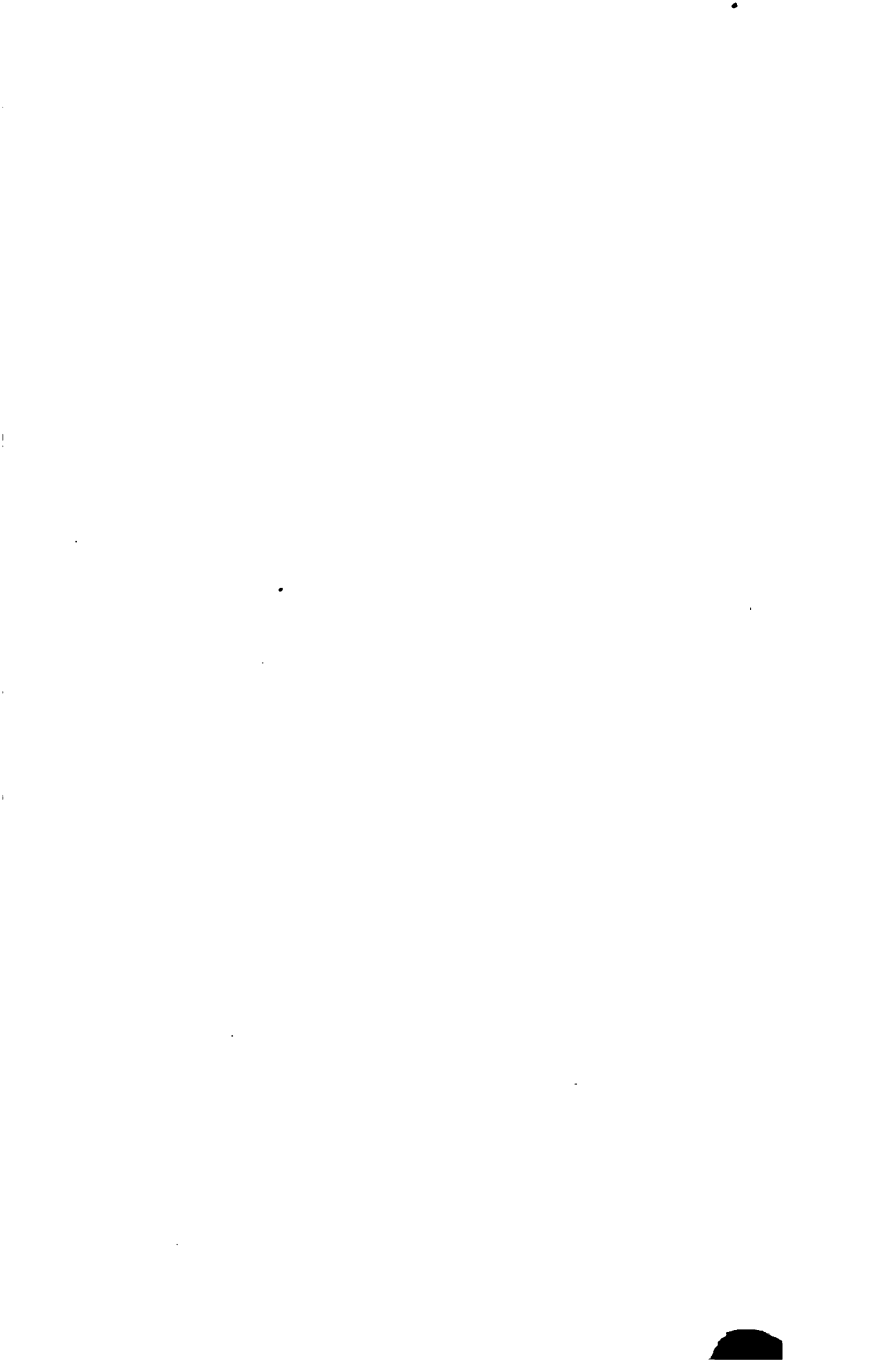
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II. THE CONFEDERATION (1781-89).

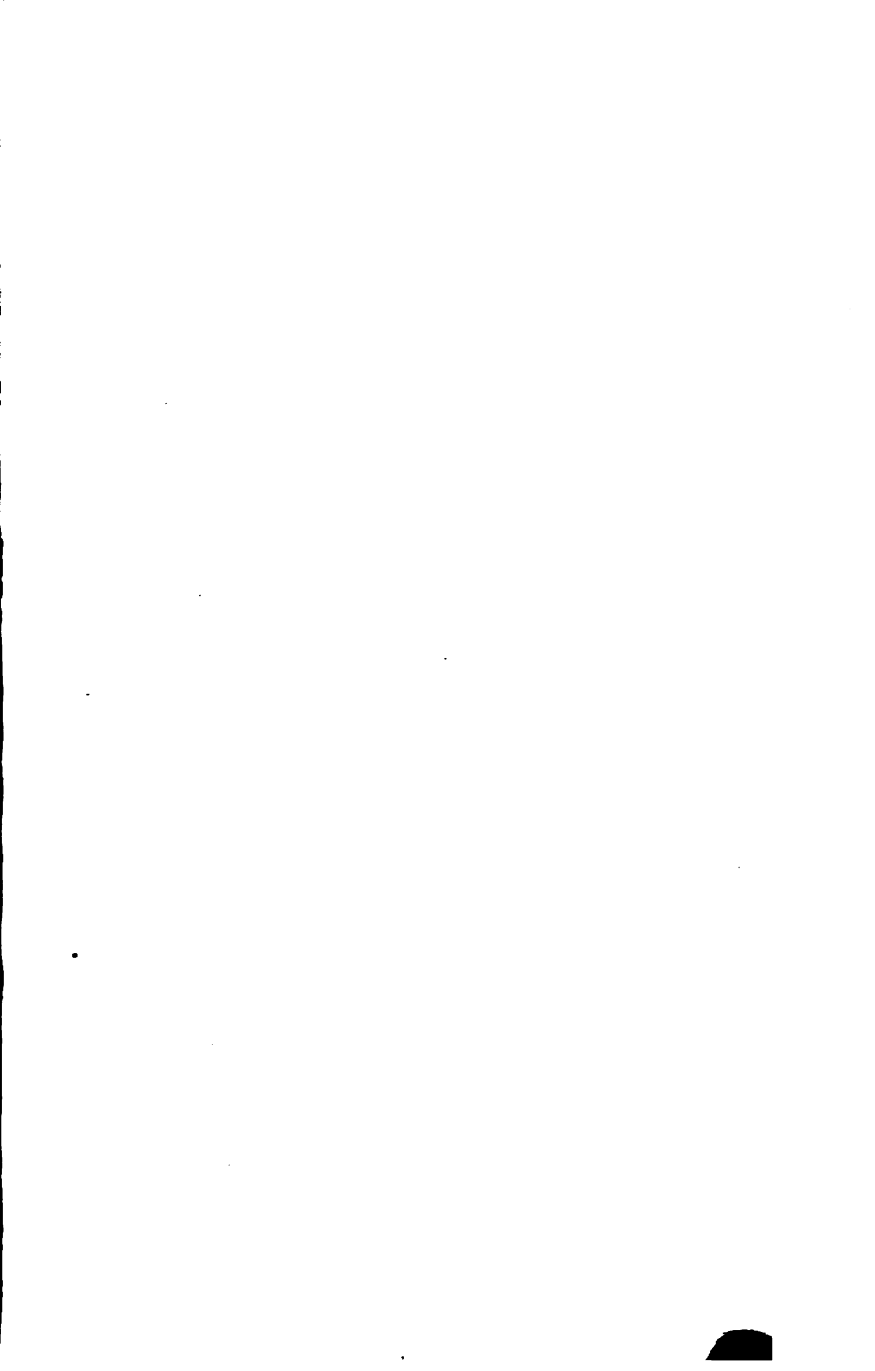
326. Authority of Congress During the War. — The first Continental Congress (1774) claimed no political power. It was merely a committee of the different colonies to consult about their wrongs. At the beginning of the Revolution, the need of concerted action of all the colonies was so apparent that the Congress of 1775, by universal consent, began to exercise important powers of government relating to the management of the war. This Congress and its successors assumed control of the continental armies, appointed officers and enlisted troops, borrowed and issued money, declared the independence of the united colonies, and negotiated a treaty with France. All these and other powers it exercised on the authority of the vague and by no means uniform instructions of the different states to their delegates. Its measures had, in themselves, no authority over any one of the thirteen sovereign and independent states, save in the willing obedience of each. It was six years after Congress began to exercise certain powers of government before any constitution defining those powers was formally agreed upon.

327. Adoption of the First Constitution. — We have seen (§ 272) that, at the time of the Declaration of Independence, Congress took steps to prepare a constitution for the United States. This constitution, called the Articles of Confederation, was to have no binding effect until all the states should ratify it. Most of the states did so at once. But Maryland refused her assent until the lands northwest of the Ohio should be surrendered by those states claiming them, and should be recognized as the common property of all the states, to be used in paying the debts contracted by Congress. She based her position on the grounds, (1) that the control of this region had been wrested from the French by the French and Indian War,

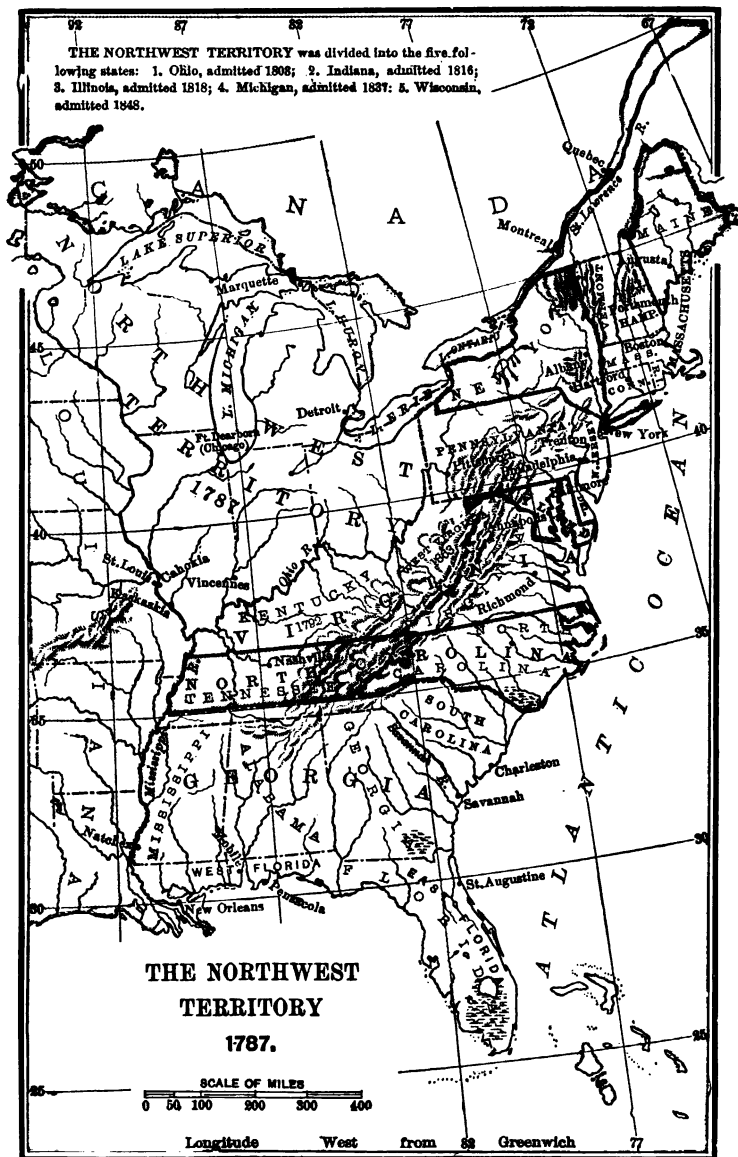
in which all the states had shared ; (2) that the possession of such a vast territory would give an overshadowing influence to the few states claiming it. Thus it was 1781 before Maryland ratified the Articles. They then went into full effect.

328. Nature of the Articles of Confederation. — The government of the United States under the Articles of Confederation was in the nature of a league between sovereign states for certain purposes. The Articles expressly declared that "each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence." There was no president of the United States ; there were no United States courts. The powers of government were vested in a Congress which was composed of one house, its members elected for one year, and paid by their respective states. No state could be represented by less than two or more than seven members. The voting in Congress was by states, each state having one vote. The most important powers of Congress were to declare war, deal with foreign nations, establish post-offices, settle disputes between states, borrow money, and fix the sums to be raised by the different states in proportion to the value of the land and buildings in each. The power to coin and issue money was shared with the states. The consent of nine states was necessary to carry any important measure. No change in the Articles could be made without the approval of every state.

329. Treaty with England. — The final treaty of peace with England (§ 323) was ratified by Congress in 1783. The boundaries of the United States were fixed at Canada on the north (§ 297), the Mississippi River on the west, and Florida extending west to the Mississippi on the south. The army was disbanded and the poorly paid soldiers returned to their homes. Washington appeared before Congress and resigned his office as commander-in-chief. Savannah, Charleston, and New York were evacuated by the British. It was twelve years



THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY was divided into the five following states: 1. Ohio, admitted 1803; 2. Indiana, admitted 1816; 3. Illinois, admitted 1818; 4. Michigan, admitted 1837; 5. Wisconsin, admitted 1848.



later, however, before Great Britain surrendered the western posts on the Canadian frontier.

330. The Northwest Territory.—At the close of the Revolution, Virginia held, besides her present limits and those of West Virginia and Kentucky, all the vast domain from the Ohio River to the Great Lakes and the Mississippi (§ 297). Her claim to the Illinois Country, or the “Northwest Territory,” as it was afterward called, was based (1) on the limits fixed by her colonial charter of 1609, (2) on its conquest from the British by her tooops under Clarke, (3) upon its actual occupation by her officers. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York also made claim to parts of this region, chiefly on the basis of their colonial charters. When the Articles of Confederation were being adopted, Maryland made the bold suggestion that the whole territory be surrendered to Congress as the common property of all the states (§ 326). This suggestion was finally carried out. In 1784 Virginia generously ceded to Congress all territory northwest of the Ohio that was claimed by her. The other states likewise gave up their claims. The acceptance of the gift made it necessary for Congress to assume new and important powers in regard to the government of the ceded territory. It did much to strengthen the union between the states, and was one of the most momentous events in our history.

331. The Ordinance of 1787.—The act of Congress providing for the government of the Northwest Territory is known as the Ordinance of 1787. It provided that the territory might be divided into states, not exceeding five in number, whenever the population of a proposed state should reach sixty thousand. In the meantime the territory was to be governed by officers appointed by Congress. In this territory the property of parents dying without wills should be equally divided among the children. (The laws of several states at that time gave

the eldest son all the property ; in all other states he received a double share.) The Ordinance further provided for complete religious freedom. The rights of trial by jury and of the writ of *habeas corpus* were to be forever inviolable. Schools were to be encouraged, and slavery forever prohibited,¹ though fugitive slaves from other states were to be returned to their owners. Few acts of Congress have had a more far-reaching effect than the Ordinance of 1787. It not only moulded to a certain extent the subsequent history of the great states carved from the Northwest Territory, but it served as a model for the government of future territories, and affected great national questions of the next century.

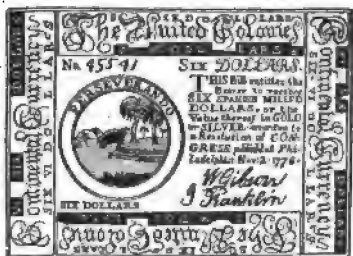
332. The Southwest.—The western lands south of the Ohio were claimed by Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. In 1784, the inhabitants of the eastern part of the present State of Tennessee revolted from North Carolina and established a separate state, which they called Franklin. They elected John Sevier (hero of King's Mountain) governor, organized a Legislature, and sent a delegate to Congress. But North Carolina reëstablished her authority, and, in 1790, ceded Tennessee Territory to the United States. South Carolina had given up her western claims in 1787. In 1792 Virginia consented that Kentucky be formed into a separate state. Georgia granted to the United States the territory of Alabama and Mississippi in 1804. Where the ceded land did not at once become a state (as Kentucky) it was first organized into a territory with a government similar to that of the Northwest Territory.

333. Navigation of the Mississippi.—How to carry their products to the markets of the world was a serious problem to the settlers on the western frontier. There were few roads

¹ This was the first limitation by law of the extension of slavery, and it was supported by every Southern member of Congress.

across the mountains, and these were beset with difficulties and dangers. The Mississippi River became the great highway of trade for the farmers of the west. But the territory on both banks of the river near its mouth was now owned by Spain (see map). That nation claimed the sole right to the navigation of the lower Mississippi, and threatened to tax all other than Spanish vessels passing the mouth of the stream. In 1786 a treaty with Spain was proposed in Congress which provided that in return for certain privileges to be granted by Spain to our commerce in other parts of the world, we surrender for twenty-five years our right to navigate the Mississippi. The proposition was at first considered favorably. At once a storm of indignation arose throughout the South and Southwest. The result was, Congress finally rejected the proposal. But the angry discussions over the matter called attention to the importance of establishing our control over the Mississippi. At the same time a bitter feeling was aroused in the South against the New England states, whose delegates in Congress favored the proposed treaty.

334. Finances of the Country. — The varying and uncertain value of money was a continual source of distress from the time of the Declaration of Independence to the adoption of our present Constitution. Congress had no power to tax the people. Funds for the expenses of the war were obtained from three sources: (1) The manufacture of paper money by authority of Congress; (2) grants of money by the different states; (3)



Continental Money.

loans from Spain, France, and Holland, and from wealthy citizens of our own country (notably Robert Morris, of Penn-

sylvania, whose generous aid to the destitute army just before the battle of Trenton, made that victory possible). The first issue of "Continental currency" was accepted by the people at its face value. But as the weakness of Congress became apparent, and the paper money continued to be issued, it rapidly decreased in value. Laws were passed to make the people accept the paper money as equal in value to gold. But by the middle of the war a Spanish silver dollar was worth forty of the paper dollars. A little later it took three paper dollars to equal one cent. By the close of the war the Continental money, having lost its value entirely, disappeared from circulation, and Congress issued no more. To describe an utterly worthless



Pine-Tree Shilling of Massachusetts.

object, people said it was "not worth a Continental." The different states issued paper money with a similar result. All sorts of gold, silver, and copper coins of England, Spain, France, and Holland were in circulation, such as ninepences, doubloons, pistoles, bits,¹ pistareens, and picayunes. It was not until 1786 that Congress coined any money. Then the silver dollar (containing 375 $\frac{1}{100}$ grains of silver), with the present subdivisions of dimes and cents, was made the unit of value. This simple system was planned by Thomas Jefferson and Gouverneur Morris.

335. Difficulties. — The varying standards of money in the different states threw business into hopeless confusion. There was no uniformity in the regulation of commerce. The states

¹ The "bit" was a Spanish and West Indian coin of the value of ten to twelve-and-a-half cents. In some of the Western states to-day "two-bits," "four-bits," and "six-bits" are common terms to designate twenty-five, fifty, and seventy-five cents.

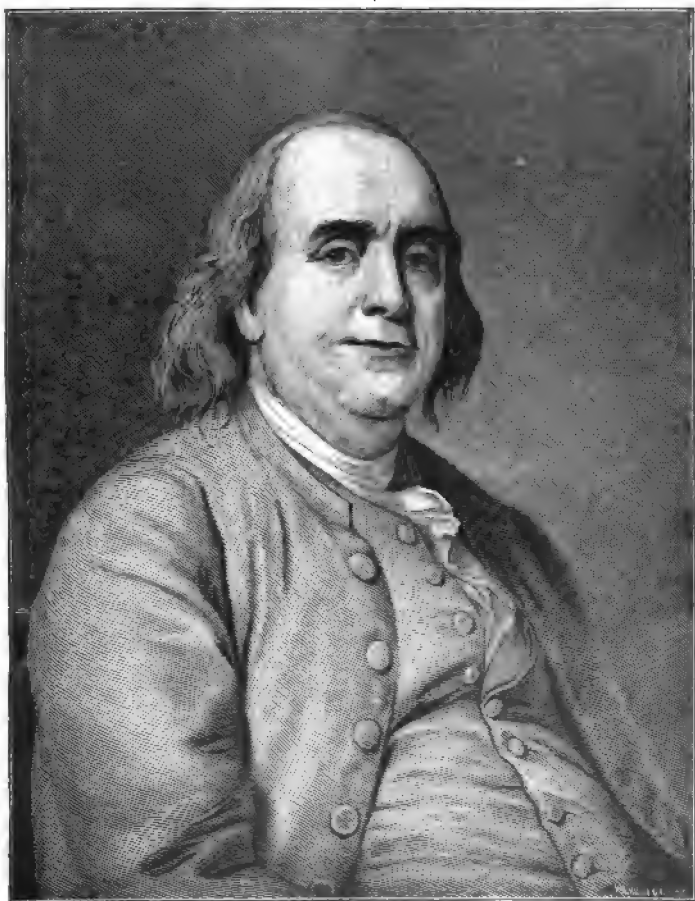
quarreled about the duties on imported goods. For example, New York having levied a heavy duty on certain articles imported from New Jersey, that state retaliated by imposing a tax of fifteen hundred dollars a year on a New York light-house situated on the New Jersey coast. In Massachusetts the poorer classes demanded that the state issue paper money. The Legislature refused, and at the same time appropriated additional funds to Congress. The people, already heavily taxed, rose in rebellion under Daniel Shays, an officer of the Revolution. The governor called out four thousand troops, and placed them under General Lincoln. After some bloodshed, "Shays's Rebellion" was suppressed.

336. Weakness of the Government.—It was soon found that the prosperity and good government of the people were impossible under the Articles of Confederation. We have seen that the states alone had the power of taxation. To provide for the running expenses of the government, Congress could only recommend to each state to pay its share of the total sum needed each year. Sometimes a state failed to pay its apportionment. Few states were prompt. The result was that Congress was constantly begging foreign nations for loans, while it got deeper and deeper into debt. In short, Congress had no power to act directly upon the people. It could act only upon the states, and then could not enforce obedience. In the words of a statesman of the time, "Congress may make and consider treaties, but they can only recommend the observance of them. They may appoint ambassadors, but they cannot defray their expenses. They may borrow money on the faith of the Union, but they cannot pay a dollar. They may coin money, but they cannot buy an ounce of bullion. They may make war and determine what troops are necessary, but they cannot raise a single soldier. In short, they may declare everything, but they can do nothing."

337. Efforts to Revise the Articles. — In 1785 commissioners from Virginia and Maryland met to arrange for a joint use of the Potomac. This meeting suggested the idea of a larger meeting of representatives from all the states, to form some plan to regulate commerce, so that states would be prevented from injuring each other's trade. Accordingly, in 1786 Virginia issued a call to all the states to send delegates to a convention to consult about a uniform system of duties. The convention met at Annapolis, Maryland, but as only five states were represented it did nothing further than to recommend that all the states send delegates to a convention to meet the following year, to devise such changes in the Articles of Confederation as, when agreed to by Congress and ratified by every state, would render them adequate to the needs of the country. Congress approved this idea. The grave defects of the Articles had become evident to every one. Before the appointed time for the convention twelve states had chosen delegates.

338. The Constitutional Convention. — The convention met in Philadelphia on May 14, 1787. Judged by the results of its work, no more important meeting was ever held in the history of the world. It numbered fifty-five members,¹ representing every state except Rhode Island. Washington was chosen presiding officer. It was agreed that each state should have one vote, and that the proceedings should be secret, lest any disagreement in the convention becoming known should prevent the acceptance of the result by the people. The convention had been called to revise the old Articles of Confederation, but so many changes were found necessary that it was soon decided to prepare an entirely new constitution. Here

¹ Among the delegates were George Washington and James Madison, of Virginia; Hamilton, of New York; Franklin, of Pennsylvania; Rutledge and the Pinckneys, of South Carolina.



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

many difficulties were encountered from the opposing views of members. The small states demanded that all the states should have equal power in the new government. The large states argued that their greater population and wealth entitled them to a larger representation. It was finally agreed that the new Congress should be composed of two houses, in one of which all the states should have equal representation, while in the other representation should depend on population. How to count the slaves in determining the representation of a state, was another vexed question. At almost every step compromises had to be made. Several times the convention seemed utterly unable to agree. On one such occasion it was proposed by Franklin that thereafter the daily sessions be opened with prayer for divine guidance. After four months of labor the convention finished its work, and the proposed constitution was signed by the delegates.

339. Adoption of the Constitution. — The constitution provided that when the conventions of as many as nine states should have ratified it, it should go into effect between the states so ratifying. Accordingly, the proposed constitution, having been first submitted to Congress, was sent to the people of the different states for their approval or rejection. Six states, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, and Maryland, gave their assent unanimously, or with little opposition. In Massachusetts, South Carolina, New Hampshire, Virginia, and New York, there was a strong opposition and a hard fight. These states finally gave their assent, but at the same time insisted upon the adoption of certain amendments defining more particularly the rights of the states and of the people. New York and Virginia in their acts of ratification declared that the powers of government surrendered by them might be reassumed whenever they were used to the injury or oppression of the people. By the end of July, 1788,

the assent of the eleven states above mentioned had been given, and Congress set March 4, 1789, as the day when the new government should go into operation. The convention of North Carolina refused to adopt the constitution until a bill of rights should be added, and the people of Rhode Island overwhelmingly rejected it. Thus these two states saw their eleven sisters withdraw from the Union under the Articles of Confederation, and set up a new government.¹

340. Nature of the New Government. — The Articles of Confederation established only one department of government, — the legislative. They provided no courts to interpret the laws of Congress, and no executive officers to enforce them. Under the new constitution there were to be three separate and distinct departments, — legislative, executive, and judicial, just as already existed in the state governments. At the same time a new and strange idea was adopted — to limit the powers of the federal government to certain specified spheres, but within those spheres to permit it to act directly upon the people (instead of upon the states), and to be supreme. All powers not surrendered to the federal government by the states were to be retained by them.² This constitution, with few changes, has continued in force to the present time. Its leading features are as follows :

341. The Legislative Department. — Congress consists of two houses, the Senate and the House of Representatives. In the Senate each state is entitled to two members, while in the House the representation of any state depends upon its

¹ After maintaining for a time a separate and independent position, North Carolina joined the new Union November, 1789, and Rhode Island in May, 1790. Rhode Island, like Virginia and New York, accompanied her final ratification by a declaration that all the powers of government might be reassumed by her people.

² Among these powers surrendered to the general government by the states were the powers to levy a tariff and to coin money, which had been the source of so much dissatisfaction under the Articles.

population (in which at first all free persons and three-fifths of the slaves were counted). Senators are chosen by the state Legislatures, and serve six years. Representatives are elected directly by the people, and serve two years. Congress is given the power to lay taxes, borrow money, regulate commerce, coin money, establish post-offices, declare war, raise and support armies and navies. The states are forbidden to do any of these things except to tax themselves, borrow money, and use their own militia. To become a law a bill must pass both houses of Congress and be signed by the president. Should the president veto a bill within ten days after its passage, it must be again passed by a two-thirds vote before it can become a law. Treaties made by the president must be approved by the Senate.

342. The Executive Department. — The president of the United States is chosen for a term of four years by electors, who are appointed from each state in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct. (In all the states, at present, these electors are elected by the people.) The president is given power to enforce the laws of Congress. He is commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and appoints most of the public officers. With the consent of the Senate, he makes treaties with foreign nations. If the president should fail to perform his duty he may be impeached (accused) by the House of Representatives, and tried and removed by the Senate. Should he die, resign, be removed, or become unable to act, the vice-president takes his place. Otherwise the vice-president presides over the Senate, but cannot vote in that body except in case of a tie.

343. The Judicial Department. — To interpret the laws of Congress the constitution provides one Supreme Court and such inferior courts as Congress may establish. The judges are appointed by the president with the approval of the Senate,

and hold their office for life, unless removed for misconduct. No cases can be tried before a United States court except : (1) Those involving the Constitution of the United States, or the laws or treaties of Congress ; (2) those affecting ambassadors or foreigners ; (3) controversies to which either the United States or a state is a party ; (4) controversies between citizens of different states.

344. Other Requirements. — Each state shall allow citizens of other states equal privileges with its own. Slaves escaping into another state shall be returned to their owners (void by Thirteenth Amendment). Congress is given power to govern the territories. The United States shall see that each state maintains a republican form of government. The Constitution may be changed with the consent of three-fourths of the states.

345. Summary of Period of Articles of Confederation. — With the assent of Maryland, in 1781, the Articles of Confederation went into effect. The treaty of peace with Great Britain was concluded in 1783. The Northwest Territory was ceded to Congress by Virginia and other states claiming it, and in 1787 Congress adopted the famous "Ordinance" for its government. The inhabitants of eastern Tennessee set up a separate state government, which they maintained for a few years, until North Carolina reëstablished her authority over them. Through lack of a financial system, quarrels between states, and the weakness of Congress, the country was drifting towards anarchy. In 1787 delegates from twelve states met in Philadelphia to revise the Articles. The new constitution prepared by them went into effect in 1789, over eleven states that had then ratified it. North Carolina and Rhode Island joined the new Union within the next two years.

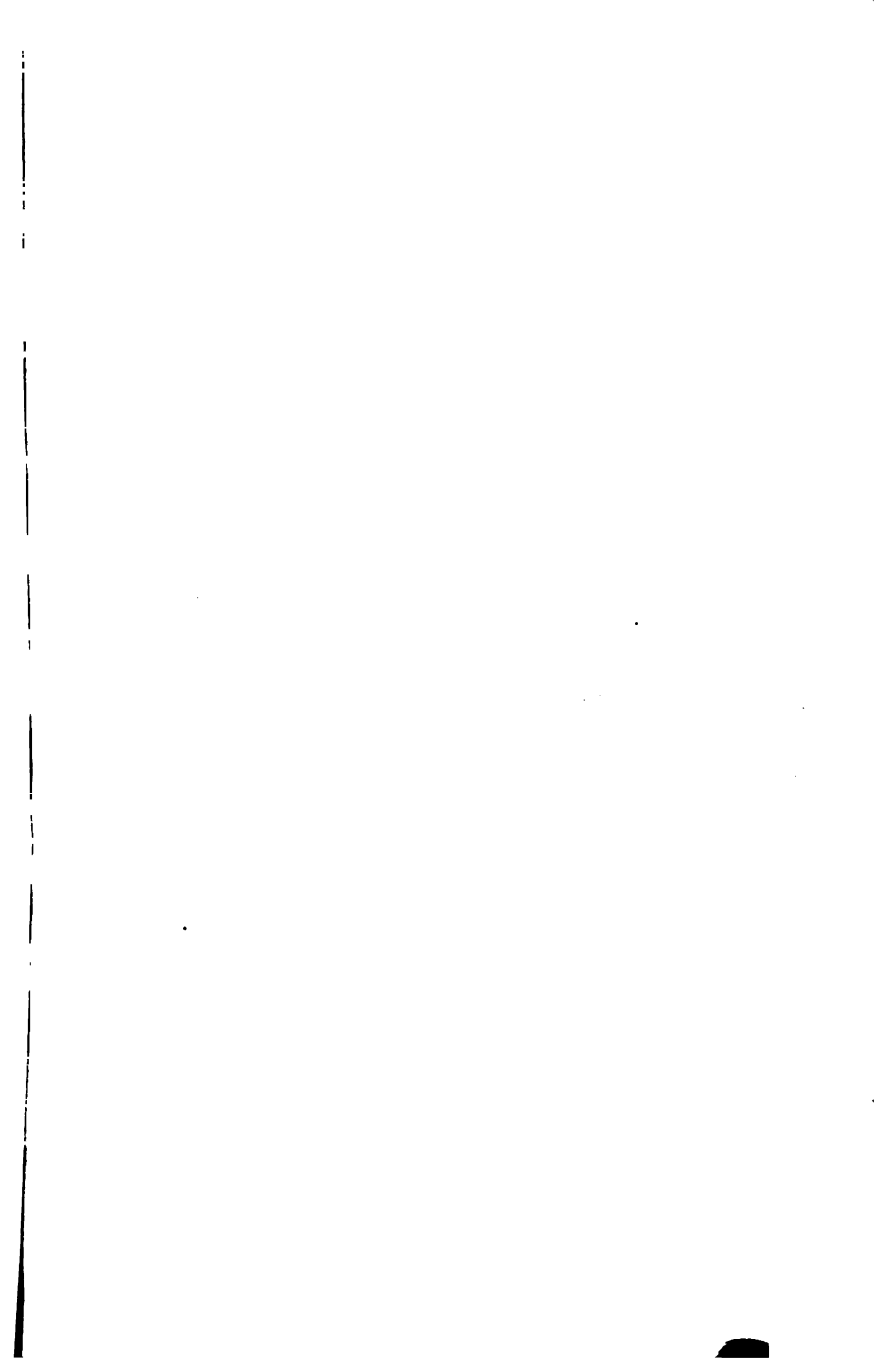
346. Thought Questions. — How did Maryland delay the adoption of the Articles of Confederation? How did her action result in a closer union of the states at last? How many territories in the United States to-day? How are the governors of these territories chosen? Where was the State of Franklin, and when did it exist? Why should the New Englanders favor the treaty with Spain? Why should the South and West oppose it? Why was the Continental money of so little value? Why is our paper money now worth as much as gold? Mention some of the com-

promises in the constitutional convention. Was the action of the eleven states that withdrew from the Union under the Confederation a "secession"? What was the justification of their action? Mention three important differences between the government under the Articles and that under the Constitution.

TOPICAL ANALYSIS (THE CONFEDERATION).

326. **Authority of Congress.** { The first Continental Congress.
Congress during the war.
- 327, 328. **Articles of Confederation.** { Framing of the Articles.
Delay in ratification.
Nature of the Articles.
329. **Treaty with England.** { Boundaries.
Disbanding of the army.
Departure of British troops.
330. **The Northwest Territory.** { Claims of different states.
Maryland's proposition.
Gift of the territory.
331. **The Ordinance of 1787.** { Its provisions.
Its effects.
332. **The Southwest.** { Claims of the states.
The State of Franklin.
Grants by the states.
333. **The Mississippi River.** { Importance to farmers of the West.
Proposed treaty with Spain.
Sectional feeling.
334. **Finances.** { Funds for the war.
Continental currency.
Foreign coins.
First coinage by Congress.
- 335, 336. **Difficulties of the Government.** { Quarrels between states.
Shays's rebellion.
Weakness of Congress.
337. **Efforts to revise the Articles.** { The Virginia and Maryland Commission.
The Annapolis Convention.
338. **Framing of the Constitution.** { Meeting of the Philadelphia convention.
Proceedings of the convention.
The work completed.

339. **Adoption of the Constitution.** { Conditions for adoption.
Action of the states.
North Carolina and Rhode Island.
340. **Nature of the Constitution.** { Compared with the Articles.
The new idea.
341. **Legislative Department.** { Senators.
Representatives.
Powers of Congress.
Method of passing laws.
342. **Executive Department.** { Election of president.
Powers of president.
Vice-president.
343. **Judicial Department.** { United States courts.
Judges of United States courts.
Jurisdiction of United States courts.
344. **Other Requirements.**

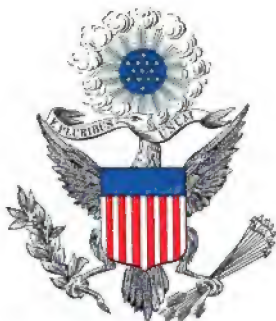




President's Flag



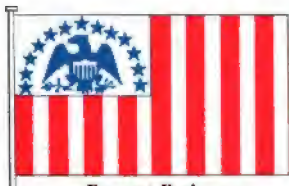
Admiral's Flag



UNITED STATES COAT OF ARMS



NATIONAL ENSIGN



Revenue Ensign



Yacht Ensign

THE UNION OF THE STATES. — DEVELOPMENT. — DIVISION.

PERIOD OF DEVELOPMENT.

(WASHINGTON TO J. Q. ADAMS.)

WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION.

Two Terms: 1789-1797.

347. Services and Character of the First President. —

When the time came to elect a president, under the new Constitution, all eyes were turned to George Washington. Born in



Mount Vernon.

Virginia, February 22, 1732, Washington was descended from one of the Cavalier families that had emigrated from England to Virginia during the period of Cromwell's rule. He received

a fair English education, and became a surveyor. The hardships and dangers of his work on the wilderness frontier developed his powers, while the ability and integrity he displayed attracted public notice. By the death of an elder brother, he came into possession of the estate of Mount Vernon, on the Potomac, not far from the present city of Washington. He married Mrs. Martha Custis, a rich widow. His services in the French and Indian War first brought him into prominence as a soldier. He was member of Congress from Virginia when chosen commander-in-chief of the armies of the united colonies. His military genius, his incorruptible patriotism, his splendid reserve-power in the midst of discouragements entitle him to be called the "soul of the Revolution." President of the convention of 1787, his influence secured the final adoption of the Constitution. He was chosen first president of the United States by the unanimous vote of the electors.¹

348. The Inauguration.—A few days after he had received notice of his election, Washington left his home at Mount Vernon in Virginia, and set out for New York, which was then the capital. Accompanied by friends, he traveled across the country in a coach. The journey occupied several days and was one grand triumph. Feasts, balls, and other entertainments in his honor were given in the various cities through which he passed; arches were built, streets were decorated with flags and flowers, and everything was done to show the respect and loyalty the people felt for "the savior of the country." Though the fourth of March was the day set for the inauguration, the slow methods of travel delayed the ceremony till April 30.

349. Political Parties.—Those who had supported the new Constitution were called Federalists, those who had opposed it

¹ See Article II, Section I, clauses 2 and 3 of the Constitution, and Article XII of the Amendments.

Anti-Federalists. The Federalists believed in a strong central government that should have ample power to lay and collect taxes, raise armies, and transact the business of the government promptly and independently. The Anti-Federalists believed that the people of the states, through the states, were the source of power, that government should be instituted solely for their convenience and service, and that it must be subject at all times to the voice of the people.

After the Constitution was adopted, the Federalists were called "Loose Constructionists" because they put a very broad construction on the general provisions of the Constitution¹ and claimed rights and powers of government not specifically granted. The Anti-Federalists were called "Strict Constructionists" because they insisted upon the letter of the Constitution and denied to the Federal government any powers except those specifically granted by the Constitution. The Federalists were willing to encroach upon the powers of the states. The Anti-Federalists believed that the general government should have only such limited powers as should be specifically delegated to it by the states.

350. The New Nation.—When our country took its first step as a nation it was not rich or powerful. In the thirteen states, the first census showed a population of not quite four millions.² The area of the country then was not quite four times that of the State of Texas to-day. But the patriots who had risked "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor"³ to create the new republic were more anxious to lead free and manly lives than they were to be rich and powerful. They cared more for the character of the nation that would result from their acts than for its size, population, or wealth.

¹ See Constitution, Article I, Section VIII, last Clause.

² In 1890, each of two states—Pennsylvania and New York—had a greater population than the whole country in 1790.

³ See the concluding clause of the Declaration of Independence, § 271.

351. The First Cabinet. — George Washington appreciated the necessity of moving forward slowly and carefully. He felt keenly and bore bravely the responsibility of chief officer of the nation. He leaned toward the new Federalist party, but called to his cabinet, after Congress had authorized its formation,¹ able leaders from both parties. Thomas Jefferson, the most distinguished opponent of the Federalist plans and theories, was made secretary of state. Alexander Hamilton,² the leader



Alexander Hamilton.³

of the Federalist party, who afterwards added to his reputation as a great party leader the more solid and worthy one of a great financier, was given the treasury department. General Henry Knox, a Federalist of Massachusetts, became secretary of war. Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, who was opposed to many of the strong-government theories of the Federalists, was appointed attorney general. There was opportunity

in this cabinet for the leaders of the opposing parties to unite on plans and policies and to harmonize conflicting theories of government; but there was opportunity, also, for further and more vital disagreement when the theories were to be put in

¹ The president's cabinet is not named in the constitution. It includes the heads of departments who constitute the president's advisers.

² Hamilton was one of the authors of the *Federalist*. This was a publication founded to aid in securing the adoption of the Constitution. It contained papers written by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, explaining and advocating the provisions of the Constitution. Washington appointed Jay chief-justice of the Supreme Court. Madison was a member of the first Congress.

³ After a portrait by Trimbull, by permission, from Lodge's works of Alexander Hamilton.

practice and the country was to take its course this way or that. One does not need to know much of politics to know that further disagreement was most likely; and, indeed, this was the result. The breach between the factions was widened as time went on. Since the time of Washington, cabinets have been formed usually from the party that elects the president.

352. Financial Plans.— The first thing to be done was to raise money to pay the expenses of the new government. For this purpose, Congress passed a bill laying taxes on imports. A large income was the result. To the next Congress, Hamilton proposed that we should pay our debts. These debts were divided into three classes: (1) We owed abroad about \$13,000,000, that we had borrowed; (2) We owed to our own countrymen about \$42,500,000 for debts contracted in furthering the Revolution; (3) it was proposed that Congress pay the debts incurred by the separate states in the prosecution of the war, amounting in the aggregate to about \$25,000,000. To the payment of the foreign debt all agreed. The proposition to pay the immense debt due our own countrymen caused wide-spread speculation in the depreciated securities of these debts, and there was considerable opposition to the measure; in the end it was carried. Hamilton's plan to assume the debts of the states caused a great surprise to the country and aroused bitter opposition. But after a hard struggle and some bargaining,¹ this, too, was carried.

The tax on imports, though it raised a large revenue, did not enable us to pay these large debts as rapidly as was wished.

¹ The Northern states were, in the main, in favor of the Federal government paying the state debts; most of the Southern states believed that each state should be responsible for its own debt. The North wanted the new permanent capital; the South also wanted it. Some Northern congressmen voted for a Southern location of the capital in exchange for some Southern votes in favor of assumption of the state debts. By this trade, Hamilton's third proposition carried, and by it the permanent capital — Washington — was located on the Potomac.

To supplement the tariff revenue, a special tax, or excise, was imposed on spirits.

A national bank, that was to be the financial agent of the government, and a mint were established for the purpose of giving us a national currency. With the establishment of the mint, Jefferson's system of decimal currency was put in operation and has proven itself to be the best in the world.

353. The Whiskey Insurrection.— The tax on spirits was very unpopular with those who had to pay it. In western Pennsylvania, where there were many stills and where whiskey was used in place of money, the opposition to the tax was very bitter. The people refused to pay the tax; government inspectors were mobbed; secret societies were formed to resist the execution of the law. A call to arms raised a band of 2000 insurgents who marched to Pittsburg, but committed no depredations. Washington called out the militia of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia to put down the insurrection; 15,000 troops took the field. Hamilton, who was anxious to vindicate the government's power to lay the tax, accompanied the troops. But before this force reached the scene of the disturbances, the ringleaders of the insurrection had fled. The people made no resistance but promptly took the oath of allegiance. A few arrests and convictions were made, but the president pardoned all who were implicated and the trouble ceased. The government had shown its power to put down any ordinary insurrection.

354. Extension of the Frontier.— **New States.**— Hostile tribes had long since been driven away from the sea-board, and east of the Alleghanies there was no further trouble from them. But adventurous pioneers pushed beyond the mountains into the Western wilderness; and every inch of their progress was disputed by the old enemy. Daniel Boone and his followers

had established themselves in territory that is now included in the State of Kentucky. Settlements had been made in what is now Cincinnati, and at other points along the Ohio. There were so many massacres of settlers in the Kentucky territory that it came to be called "the Dark and Bloody Ground." Washington, when he became the executive of the new nation, determined to protect these pioneers. In his early life he had become familiar with this Western country and was interested



Fort Washington (Site of Cincinnati).

in its development. He was also familiar with Indian warfare and knew its cruel and treacherous methods. General Harmer was sent against the hostile tribes of the Ohio region in 1790; but he was surprised and defeated. Next year, General St. Claire was sent against them with more than two thousand troops. He had been solemnly advised and warned by Washington, but he allowed himself to be ambushed and his army was cut to pieces. "Mad" Anthony Wayne, the hero of Stony Point (§ 306), was now put in command of the army. He defeated a large force of Indians on the Maumee (1794). A treaty of peace followed and this region was cleared of hostile forces. With greater security, immigrants poured into

the Ohio region. Kentucky was admitted into the Union in 1792. Tennessee, still further west and south, came in in 1796. Vermont had been admitted in 1791, so that at the close of Washington's second term, the Union consisted of sixteen states.

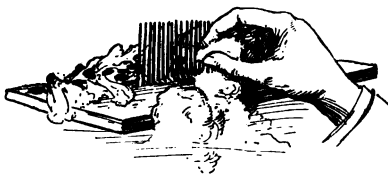
355. Foreign Relations.—The Federalist party was in strong sympathy with the principles and ceremonious methods of the English government; the Republicans¹ took the new republic of the French for their model, were jealous of the rights of the people, opposed all forms and ceremonies, and were afraid that the national government would assume too much power. When the French became involved in a war with England (1793) they asked for assistance from their old friends of the United States. Citizen Genet was sent to this country to solicit aid. Many of the Federalists sided with England, while the Republicans were enthusiastic for France. Washington, after carefully reviewing the situation, declared that the United States would be neutral. This decision disappointed some of the Federalists, and raised an outcry from the Republicans. Genet, after the declaration by the president, appealed to the people. He stirred up all the ill-feeling he could, and altogether acted in such an insolent way that he lost the approval of many Republicans who had formerly supported him. Washington objected to Genet's course, and he was soon recalled by his government. But the feelings that had been aroused during the controversy made the differences between the two parties more pronounced. Later (in 1795) the treaty with England,² secured by Chief-

¹ After the Constitution was adopted, and the government for which it provided was inaugurated, the term Anti-Federalist was no longer applicable, as all active opposition to the Constitution soon ceased. But there was a strong party, led chiefly by those who had been Anti-Federalists, who (about 1791) took the name of the "Republican" party. This Republican party was therefore the successor of the Anti-Federalist party.

² The treaty contained twenty-eight sections, and held agreements upon many matters of dispute between the two countries. Peace was declared established; the

Justice Jay, was bitterly attacked by the Republicans, and could not be warmly defended by the Federalists. It was not satisfactory to anybody, but Washington thought the terms the best that could be obtained at the time. But party-feeling ran so high over it that Washington's private character was attacked, and he became so worried by violent abuse that he declared he had rather be in his grave than in the presidency.

356. The Cotton-Gin.—A government can do nothing but plan for the prosperity of the people; the prosperity is won by the industry and good judgment of the people themselves. The people of the United States have been not only industrious and thrifty but they have been fertile in the invention of labor-saving, wealth-producing machinery. One of the most useful machines ever invented in our country is the cotton-gin, which came into use during Washington's administration. Eli Whitney, the inventor, was reared in Massachusetts. He spent his youth in going to school and in making walking-canes, nails, and pins. But after being graduated from Yale College he became a teacher in the family of General Nathaniel Greene, residing near Savannah. While here his attention was called to the difficulty of separating the seed of cotton from the fiber. The value of cotton in making cloth was well known, and many planters grew patches of it; but as one man could separate but a pound of cotton fiber a day, the cloth was very expensive. Whitney set to work to construct a machine that would do this task of separation more rapidly. The result was a cotton-gin ("gin" is from engine)



Whitney's First Contrivance for Pulling off the Cotton Seeds.

Mississippi was declared open to both countries; the northern boundary of the United States was again defined; the injury done American commerce was to be paid for, etc.

which would separate a thousand pounds of fiber a day. A new industry was given to the country. Cotton-growing developed in the Southern states till it became their chief industry, and now they furnish more cotton than the remainder of the world. The manufacture of cotton-cloth became an important industry in the New England states. Much of our cotton is shipped to England for manufacture.

357. The Second Term.—When Washington closed his first term he was again unanimously elected to the presidency. At the end of his second term he was asked to become a candidate for a third term, but refused. He kept the respect of the better elements of both parties throughout his official life, but he was unable to harmonize the differences of the two parties as he had hoped to do.

358. Condition of the Country.—The messenger who carried Washington the notice of his election rode on horseback. The overland traveling of the time was done by means of horses. In many sections there were good roads with inns at frequent intervals. Steamboats had not been invented, and there was not a mile of railway in the United States. News was carried by mounted messengers, and of course required considerable time to reach all parts of the country. There were no telegraph or telephone lines till many years later. Oxen and horses were used for drawing loads; mules were very rare, the majority of the people never having seen one. Cast-iron plows had not been invented, and riding-plows and steam-plows were yet many years in the future. A housewife would not have known what to do with a cooking-stove, and heating-stoves were extremely rare. Wood was used for fuel everywhere but at the forge, where charcoal was substituted. One of the school-books, the "New England Primer," contained the Lord's Prayer, the catechism, hymns, and so on. The pupil wrote with a quill pen made by the teacher, or by

himself, if he was skillful enough. Slate-pencils were whittled out of "soap" stone. Lead was sometimes used for marking; our graphite "lead" pencil was unknown. New York, the first capital of our country, had a population of about fifty thousand souls.

359. Summary. — When the first president took his seat our population was not quite four millions. The first cabinet was formed by the selection of leaders from both parties. The financial policy proposed by Hamilton gave us money to pay our debts and establish our credit with other nations. After the Indians were defeated emigration to the western country increased rapidly. Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee were admitted to the Union. A new treaty was made with England. The cotton-gin was invented, and cotton eventually became the chief crop of the Southern states.

360. Thought Questions. — Name the leading political parties to-day. Which one corresponds most closely in its beliefs to the Federalist party? to the Anti-Federalist party? What was our total public debt at the beginning of Washington's administration? Compare this with the national debt to-day. What do you think of Washington's refusal to aid France? Give reasons for your opinion. What do you consider the most important event of this administration? Why?

JOHN ADAMS'S ADMINISTRATION.

One Term: 1797-1801.

361. Services and Character of the New President. — John Adams, of Massachusetts, was one of the ablest and most fearless of the Revolutionary patriots. In all the stormy scenes preceding the Declaration of Independence, he played an important part. He was a delegate to both of the Continental Congresses. He was the chief debater in defending the Declaration of Independence before Congress. He urged the selection of Washington for commander-in-chief of the army. He was minister to France in 1778. He was one of the commissioners who arranged a treaty of peace with Great Britain after

our independence was acknowledged. In 1785, Congress sent him as minister to England, and the king had to receive as our representative a conspicuous leader of the revolution that had lost the crown the American colonies. He was the first vice-president and was a member of the Federalist party.

362. Change of the Capital. — Adams was inaugurated in Philadelphia, to which place the capital had been removed from New York. But during this administration the capital was permanently located at a site on the Potomac that had been



Washington 100 Years Ago.

chosen by Washington. This site was at the time nothing but a straggling settlement, neighbors being as much as a mile apart. The District of Columbia, in which the capital is situated, was presented to the United States by Virginia and Maryland. It was originally a district ten miles square, on both banks of the Potomac. The Virginia grant, on the southern bank, was afterwards returned.

363. Renewed Trouble with France. — Early in Adams's administration, the trouble with France took a more serious turn. The Directory,¹ feeling incensed that the United States persisted in a neutral course, ordered our minister out of the country. The president called an extra session of Congress, and laid the matter before this body. It was decided to send an embassy to France to treat with the Directory if any reasonable terms could be made. Three envoys, two Federalists and one Republican, were sent to France. They were coldly received, and little attempt was made by the Directory to reach



Washington at the Present Time.

an agreement. Finally the envoys were informed in a roundabout way that if the United States would pay a certain sum of money, a satisfactory treaty would be made. The envoys indignantly rejected the idea of paying money in the way of a bribe. One of them² said the United States "would raise mil-

¹ France had just gone through a bloody revolution, and had dethroned and beheaded her king. A new constitution had been adopted which placed the executive branch of the government in the hands of a Directory composed of five members.

² Charles Pinckney.

lions for defense, but not one cent for tribute." The two Federalist envoys were ordered out of the country, but Elbridge Gerry, who was a Republican, was invited to remain. In a short time, however, this last envoy came home without having effected anything. In the meantime, whenever opportunity offered, the French vessels captured American merchantmen on the high



John Adams.

seas and took them home and sold their cargoes. These things meant war, and the United States prudently began to defend herself. The treaties with France were annulled. American men-of-war were directed to capture any French vessel that interfered with our commerce. Steps were taken to raise an army, and Washington was made commander-in-chief.¹

¹ During Jackson's administration France paid \$5,000,000 for the injury done our commerce at this time.

364. Death of Washington. — But Washington's services to his country were ended. He died December 14, 1799. The whole country went into mourning. England and France made public acknowledgment of their great respect for him. One of the resolutions introduced in Congress said he was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens." No one has arisen to dispute this proud position with him.

365. The Alien and Sedition Laws. — At the same time, Congress made two laws that ought never to have been proposed. The Alien Law authorized the president to banish, without trial, any foreigner whom he thought dangerous to the peace and liberty of the country. The Sedition Law imposed a heavy fine upon those who should combine or conspire together to oppose any measure of government, and upon those who should utter any false, scandalous, or malicious writings against the authorities of our government.

366. The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. — The Alien and Sedition Laws had been bitterly opposed by the Republicans in Congress. It was held that the Sedition Law was an open violation of the first amendment of the Constitution, and that the right of trial by jury that was guaranteed by the Constitution was denied in the Alien Law. Prosecutions¹ under the Sedition Law aroused the fiercest indignation. The matter was taken up by the Legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky. These Legislatures declared in resolutions² that the Union was a compact between the states, and that beyond the well-defined powers delegated to it the general government had no right to

¹ Matthew Lyon, of Vermont, while a candidate for Congress, was arrested for accusing the president of having a "thirst for ridiculous pomp, foolish adulation, and selfish avarice." He was imprisoned and fined. He was elected to Congress, but was obliged to serve his term of imprisonment before he could take his seat. Editors of several papers were imprisoned and fined for criticising the administration.

² Madison wrote the Virginia Resolutions; Jefferson, the Kentucky Resolutions.

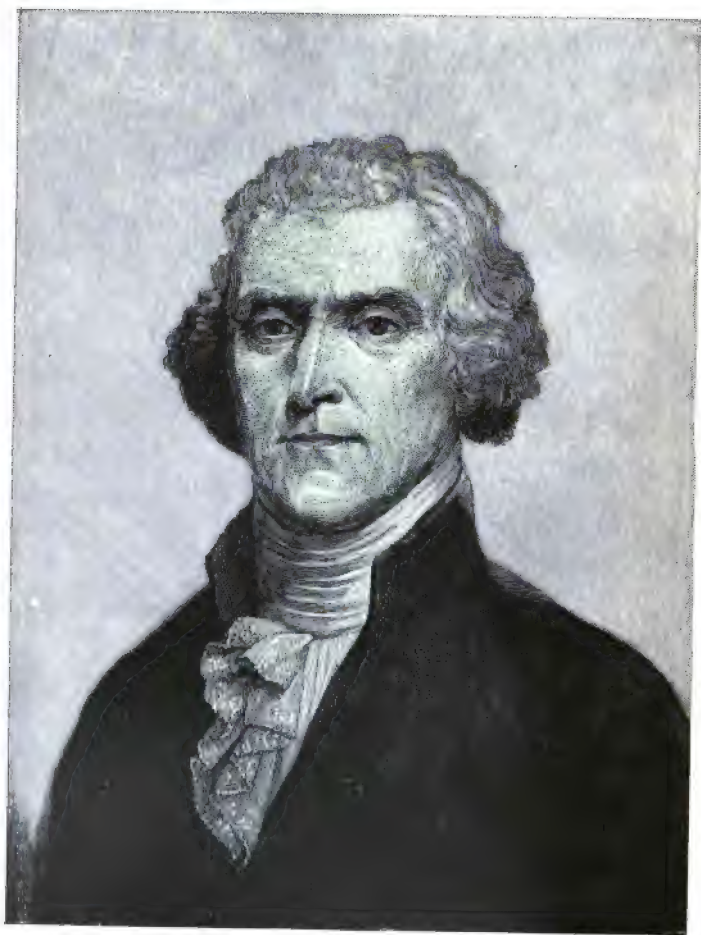
step; that the Alien and Sedition Laws were an usurpation of power in direct violation of the Constitution; that it was the duty of the states to interpose and maintain their rights against the encroachment of the federal power. They asserted the right of the states to judge of violations of the Constitution and of the mode and measure of redress. The two laws caused the defeat of the Federalist party, that had passed them and was active in their execution.

367. A New Treaty. — In 1800, Napoleon Bonaparte, who had secured control of the French government, received a new embassy from our country in the most cordial manner. A treaty vowing “firm and universal peace” between France and the United States was soon effected. The question of payment for the confiscation of some of our merchant-vessels was left to future negotiation.

368. Election of a New President. — The Constitution provided that the electors should vote for two candidates for president; that the candidate receiving the highest number of votes — if a majority — should be president, and the one receiving the next highest number should be vice-president. In the election of a successor to Adams, Jefferson and Burr, both belonging to the same party, each had a majority of the votes, each receiving seventy-three. It fell upon the House of Representatives to decide between them, each state having one vote. In the House, Jefferson had the greater number of votes from the beginning, but it was some time before he had a majority of all the votes. Burr became vice-president. It was seen that our method of electing a president was very faulty. The Constitution was amended (1804), so that electors vote for president and vice-president separately.

369. Summary. — Washington, on the Potomac, became the capital. France, under the Directory, refused all reasonable terms for a treaty. Preparations for war were made by the United States. When Napoleon gained





THOMAS JEFFERSON.

control a treaty was made. Washington died December 14, 1799. The Alien and Sedition Laws, granting arbitrary powers to the president and to the courts, were passed by the Federalist party, then in power. Indignation against these laws led to the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, which declared the laws unconstitutional and beyond the rightful power of Congress to enact. The election of a president was thrown into the House; Jefferson was elected.

370. Thought Questions. — Why was not the new capital placed farther west? What provision in the first amendment of the Constitution was violated by the Sedition Law? Which amendment was violated by the Alien Law? In the Kentucky Resolutions, what was meant by the "mode and measure of redress" for violations of the Constitution? The Republican electors of 1800 wanted Burr for vice-president; how did it happen that their votes made a tie between him and Jefferson for president? What do you consider the most important event of this administration? Why?

JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

Two Terms: 1801-1809.

371. Services and Character of the New President. — Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, had been a prominent member of the Continental Congress. He was the author of the Declaration of Independence. He was the founder of the University of Virginia. He was governor of Virginia during part of the Revolutionary War. He was one of the commissioners sent to Europe, after our independence was declared, to treat with European powers. He succeeded Franklin as our minister to France. He was secretary of state in Washington's cabinet. He was vice-president under Adams.

372. Republican Simplicity. — Jefferson was the first president elected by the Republican or Democratic party. He was inaugurated in the new capital at Washington. Previous inaugurations had been conducted with a great deal of ceremony. But Jefferson, one of the most dignified of men, disapproved of all forms and ceremonies. Former presidents had held recep-

tions conducted with great formality; but Jefferson was readily accessible to the humblest citizen. He received foreign ministers in a simple, matter-of-fact way that was very wounding to their vanity. He had declared that all men are created equal; he looked upon a public officer as a public servant, and consequently he could see no reason why office-holding should be marked with pomp and haughty behavior.

373. Trouble with the Pirates of the Mediterranean.—

Along the north coast of Africa bands of Mahometan pirates had intrenched themselves. They sailed forth from their ports and harbors and captured the rich merchant-vessels from other countries. European nations had ceased resisting them by force of arms, and had adopted the method of paying yearly tribute as a means of buying protection for their trading-vessels. American commerce and American citizens had suffered very much from them. Some of our vessels had been captured and confiscated and the seamen sold into slavery. The United States had paid tribute for some years for protection and had used large sums of money in paying the ransom of captives. Finally, the demands of the pirates grew to such unreasonable amounts that our government refused to pay them. Then the Pasha of Tripoli declared war against the United States. In 1803, a number of our war-vessels were sent to the Mediterranean to bring the pirates to terms. Our seamen showed great skill and courage and made our prowess respected by European nations. Lieutenant Decatur, particularly, distinguished himself. The frigate *Philadelphia* chased one of the pirate vessels out of the open sea to the protection of the batteries of Tripoli. But in the pursuit, the *Philadelphia* ran on a reef and fell an easy prey to the pirates. The officers of the frigate were held in captivity. The Mahometans then manned the vessel with their own people and added it to their fleet. Some months later, in a small vessel, with only seventy-four men

under Decatur, surprised the *Philadelphia* at night and killed or drove away all of the pirate crew. Then the vessel was set on fire. As Decatur sailed away in the light of the flames, he was fired upon by all the available guns of the fort; but not a man was killed. Later, the whole American fleet appeared before Tripoli and besieged it. A land force of the Pasha's enemies had also been enlisted in the service of America. Tripoli could not hope to withstand the double attack and the Pasha sued for peace. A treaty was made in 1805 that gave us immunity from these annoying and destructive depredations. So that a new nation, from another continent, had done more to subdue the pirates than the old European nations had done with the buccaneers at their own doors.

374. Ohio Admitted. — In 1802, some territory west of Pennsylvania was admitted into the Union as the State of Ohio. It was the first state cut out of the great Northwest Territory (§ 330).

375. The Louisiana Purchase. — When Jefferson became president the Mississippi was the extreme limit of our country on the west. Spain owned the great territory of Louisiana, lying west of the Mississippi. This territory included New Orleans and the mouth of the Mississippi; and in those days, when wars were so frequent and railroads unheard of, the control of a great river on the border of a country was vital to its interests. We have seen (§ 333) how the proposed surrender of the navigation of the Mississippi aroused the people of the West. In 1800, the territory of Louisiana was ceded back to France. President Jefferson thought it would be bad policy to allow our country to be hemmed in by a powerful European nation. In 1803, an attempt was made to purchase a part of the territory, including New Orleans and the mouth of the Mississippi. Napoleon, who was involved in a war with England, stood in much greater need of money than he did of

Louisiana; and he offered to sell the whole territory. The United States was glad enough to buy. The price paid was fifteen million dollars. For this sum, the United States bought a great territory that extended from the Gulf to the source of the Mississippi and from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains. The territory gained contained nearly a million square miles, and was larger than the United States itself. By this purchase, it became possible for the United States to develop into one of the great nations of the earth.

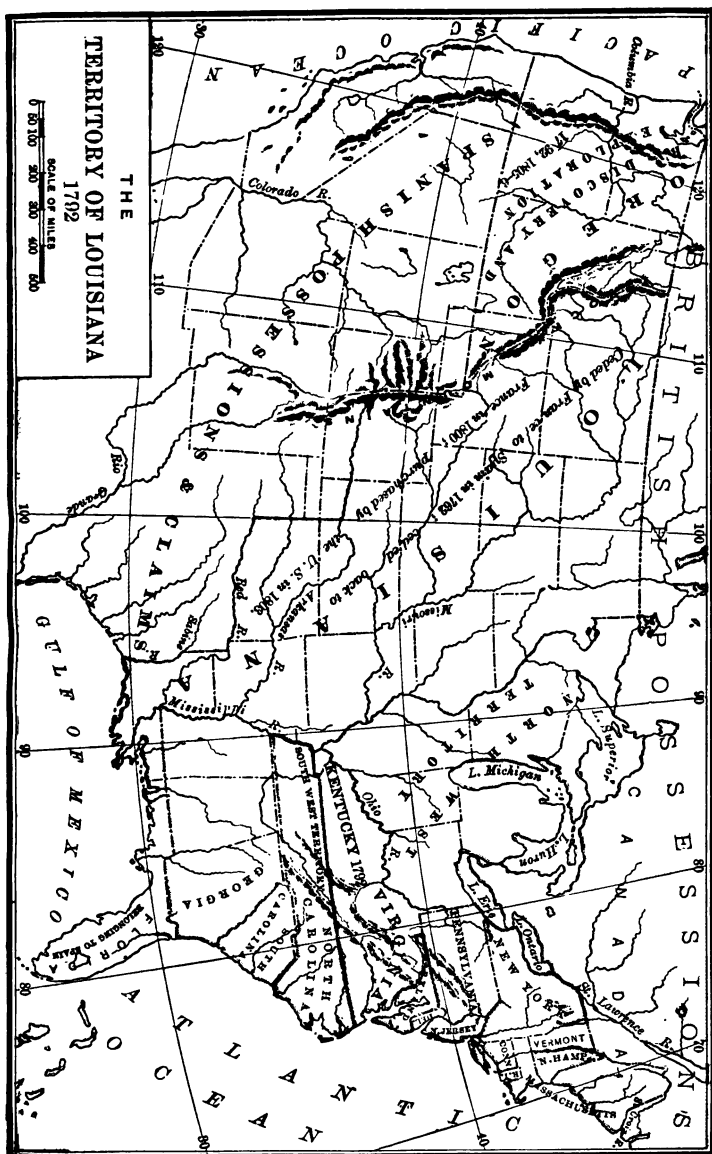
376. The Lewis and Clarke Expedition.—Some of this vast territory is very little known in our own day; ninety years ago only its eastern border had been explored. But the president resolved to gain all the information that he could about the region. He arranged to send an exploring expedition out into the wild country. The expedition consisted of thirty men commanded by Captains Lewis and Clarke. They left St. Louis in the fall of 1803, and ascended the Missouri River in boats. They were the first white men to see the great falls near the source. They crossed through a pass in the mountains and descended the Columbia River to the Pacific Ocean. They returned to civilization after an absence of nearly three years, having lost but one man.¹ Because of this exploration the United States claimed the Oregon territory.

377. Trouble with England: The Embargo.—The war which was going on between England and France involved most of the European countries and caused the United States considerable loss and annoyance. Each nation had prohibited all trade with the other, and claimed the right to confiscate all vessels engaged in such trade. Of course, this made American vessels liable to seizure at any time by one or the other of the enemies. Besides this, England claimed the right to search all

¹ The history of this expedition, printed by Harper & Brothers, is a very interesting, true story of exploration and adventure.

THE TERRITORY OF LOUISIANA 1792

SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500





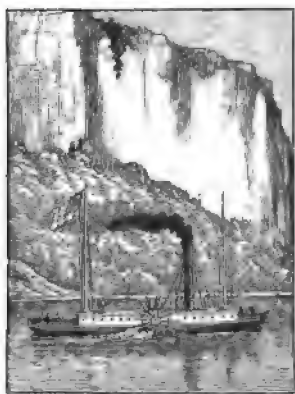
American vessels and take from them any English seamen that might be found among their crews. Officers were, of course, not very careful to distinguish between English-born and American-born seamen. Several hundred men were seized within a year. The frigate *Chesapeake* refused to be searched by the officers of an English man-of-war. It was fired upon, searched, and some of its crew taken away. Retaliation could no longer be deferred. Congress decreed that no American vessels should carry goods to foreign countries. It was hoped that this embargo would materially injure both England and France; but it hurt the United States more than it did either of them. As New England was more heavily engaged in foreign commerce than any other section of the country, it suffered the most. New York City was the chief port of entry of the country; this embargo brought its commerce to a stop and ruin stared it in the face. After a little more than a year's trial the act was repealed and a new act called the non-intercourse act, allowing commerce with all nations except England and France, was passed.

378. Aaron Burr's Treason.— Aaron Burr, a brilliant but unprincipled man, had been vice-president during Jefferson's first term. He and Hamilton became bitter political rivals. The feeling on Burr's side grew to such intensity that he challenged Hamilton to a duel: in the encounter he shot Hamilton, who did not attempt to harm Burr. Afterward he was suspected of forming a conspiracy to detach some of the southwestern states and form a new nation, of which he should be the chief officer. He was arrested and tried for treason. Though the charge could not be proven in the courts, the public believed it true and he lost the respect of every one.

379. Importation of Slaves.— In 1807, Congress forbade the importation of slaves after the beginning of 1808. Slaves were still bought and sold in our own territory; but negroes cap-

tured in Africa could no longer legally be brought to the United States and sold into slavery. Jefferson and the leaders of both parties looked forward to the gradual emancipation of slaves already on our soil.

380. The First Steamboat.— After the steam engine was invented in England, attempts were made in all civilized countries to apply steam-power to boats. The first successful steamboat was the creation of an American, Robert Fulton.



The "Clermont."

His boat, called the "Clermont," was a rude affair, with uncovered wheels on the sides, showing no architectural beauty, and carrying sails to aid the new power. The people had no faith in its success while it was being built and derisively named it Fulton's Folly. Fulton announced that on a certain day he would start from New York for Albany, and great crowds gathered at the wharves to see what would happen. At the appointed time, the boat steamed off up the

river and made the journey to Albany in thirty-two hours. Steamboats multiplied rapidly from this time, and by their means our commerce was developed with enormous rapidity. There were no railroads in the country at the time; our carrying agents were wagon trains, flat boats (rude rafts) pulled or rowed up and down the rivers, and sail-boats on the lakes and coasts. Steamboats were put on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers and were instrumental in hastening greatly the development of the western country. With the growth of railroads later, steamboats became less and less useful in domestic commerce, and are gradually disappearing from our rivers.

381. Summary. — Jefferson adopted simple manners and customs in his bearing as president. The pirates of the Mediterranean were defeated by our ships and our commerce was freed from their robberies. The State of Ohio was admitted into the Union. Louisiana, a territory lying west of the Mississippi and extending to the Rocky Mountains, was purchased from France at a cost of \$15,000,000. Lewis and Clarke led a party out into this wilderness and penetrated through to the western coast. They prepared a description of the country they had explored. Trouble with England caused an embargo to be laid upon our commerce. This proved to be a very unpopular measure, and after a little more than a year it was repealed. Aaron Burr shot Alexander Hamilton in a duel. Further importation of slaves was prohibited. Robert Fulton invented the first steamboat. The administration is chiefly noted for the growing prosperity of the country and the great extension of its limits.

382. Thought Questions. — By what nation was Louisiana first claimed? When did it pass into the hands of Spain? Why was this transfer made? When and to whom was the second transfer made? The third? Give two reasons why the United States was anxious to get Louisiana. If Louisiana had fallen into the hands of England, would the United States have been able to acquire it? Why was the Embargo Act so unpopular? What does the Constitution say about the importation of slaves? What do you consider the most important event of this administration? Why?

MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

Two Terms: 1809-1817.

383. Services and Character of the New President. — Three members of the Republican party, James Madison and James Monroe, both of Virginia, and De Witt Clinton, of New York, were conspicuous candidates for the presidency; but Jefferson preferred Madison, as his views were known to harmonize with those of the retiring president; and he was the one elected. The new president was one of the most distinguished statesmen of the day. He had served his state in the state Legislature, the Continental Congress, the constitutional convention, and the national Congress. He was secre-

tary of state during Jefferson's two terms as president. He was the author of many of the *Federalist*¹ papers, of the Virginia Bill of Rights, and of the Virginia Resolutions (§ 366), — all enlightened and significant writings, important in their times, and destined to influence the future course of the



James Madison.

republic. He received nearly three-fourths of the electoral votes, but forty votes fewer than Jefferson had received for his second term.

384. The Condition that Confronted the Administration. — Jefferson had been unable to settle the disputes with England and France; and Madison fell heir to them, and was expected to pursue the same policy in regard to them. The method of this policy was to avoid war, and to seek to gain what we wanted by

¹ See footnote, p. 228.

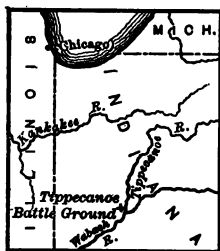
diplomacy and commercial retaliations. England had forbidden our ships to trade with France and her allies, and France had laid the same prohibition on our commerce in regard to England and her allies; our Congress had sought to retaliate, first, by prohibiting all foreign commerce, and afterward by limiting the prohibition to England and France.¹ The people of the northeastern states were largely engaged in commerce, and they suffered heavily under this condition of things; it became a vital national matter to afford relief.

385. The Process of Relief. — Madison, shortly after his inauguration, entered into an agreement with the British minister by the terms of which commercial relations with England were to be resumed. Immediately upon the announcement of this agreement more than a thousand of our vessels, heavily laden with precious cargoes, sailed from our ports for foreign shores. But England promptly repudiated her minister's agreement, and reasserted the former provisions and restrictions; and only the vessels that had been fortunate enough to get away upon the first announcement of the agreement were allowed to sail unmolested. Then negotiations were opened with France, and terms were offered us that seemed to make some concessions, and we accepted. But the result was even worse than in the English agreement, for we gained no real commercial concessions, and we further offended and alienated England. England seemed to play with us, and France duped us, and the result of the negotiations was nothing but humiliation and exasperation. A feeling was growing that our interests and our honor demanded stronger measures.

386. The Tippecanoe Incident. — In 1811, through the immediate influence of the great chief, Tecumseh, the Indian tribes of

¹ England and France were at war; the United States had declared herself neutral; neither country was willing that we should sell any kind of supplies to the other.

the Northwest united in a great uprising. Their purpose was to drive the white settlers from the country. General Harrison was sent against the Indians. He was surprised at night in his camp at Tippecanoe, in the Territory of Indiana; but his men rallied quickly and defeated the Indians with great slaughter. It was believed that English agents had encouraged the Indians with arms and advice, and the feeling against England in the West was intense.



387. The Wrongs to our Seamen. — England continued to seize seamen from our ships and force them into her own service. During the seven years preceding this time more than four thousand American seamen had been taken from American ships and pressed into British service. She also continued to seize our merchant vessels as prizes, and finally became so insolent as to enter our own waters and capture some of our ships.

388. The Declaration of War. — The time was ripe for war. Years of negotiations and retaliatory legislation had gained us nothing. Those of our merchant vessels that ventured beyond our ports were captured and confiscated, and our seamen were taken from our ships and forced to serve England in her war against France. The Tippecanoe incident, and the discovery of the Henry letters,¹ purporting to reveal a plot of the governor of Canada secretly to influence New England to secede from

¹ Henry represented himself to have lived a few years in New England as the secret agent of Canada and England, acting under instructions to note the signs and expressions of discontent with the administration of affairs in the United States, and of New England's leaning toward the mother-country; and further, to use his influence in increasing the discontent and strengthening the regard for England. He claimed to be able to prove these things by authentic official letters in his possession. The president paid him \$50,000 for the letters.

the Union and annex itself to Canada, caused great excitement. Those who had been opposed to war — including the president — were obliged, finally, to abandon their position and join the war party. In a speech before Congress, Henry Clay asked, "What are we not to lose by peace? Commerce, character, a nation's best treasure, honor." War was declared in June, 1812.

SECOND WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

Events of 1812.

389. The First Movement against Canada.—General Hull, governor of Michigan Territory, an old officer of Revolutionary fame, was instructed to invade Canada. But the general was inefficient and cowardly. He was besieged in Detroit by a force



Isaac Hull.

of British and Indians, and without firing a gun surrendered Detroit and Michigan (August 16), thereby covering his name with shame¹ and greatly discouraging the American army.

390. The First Sea Fight.— At this time the American people believed that they could march into Canada and easily conquer it, but so far as sea fighting was concerned they had little hope of accomplishing more

than a weak defense of our coast. England was, at this time, the greatest maritime power in the world. She had nearly a

¹ General Hull was afterwards tried by a court of army officers on the charge of treason, cowardice, and conduct unbecoming an officer, convicted on the two latter charges, and sentenced to be shot. President Madison pardoned him in consideration of his services in the Revolution.

thousand ships manned with veteran crews, while the United States had but twelve men-of-war, and some of them had been hastily and imperfectly manned.¹ But in the first decisive engagement we gained such a signal victory that we took heart and prepared for greater enterprises. One of our warships, the *Constitution*, commanded by Captain Isaac Hull,² while cruising in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, fell in with the English warship *Guerrière*. The *Guerrière*, after an engagement lasting about an hour, surrendered. The prisoners were taken to Boston, and Captain Hull and his officers were feasted at Faneuil Hall. The *Constitution*, after this victory, was named *Old Ironsides*, and became a famous ship.³

391. Continuation of the Contest on the Sea.— Our next important victory was gained by the sloop-of-war *Wasp*. This vessel, cruising off the coast of North Carolina, fell in with a fleet of English merchantmen under the convoy of the brig *Frolic*. The *Frolic* was much better armed and equipped than the *Wasp*, but after a desperate encounter the Americans boarded the English ship, and themselves hauled down the English colors. The firing had hardly ceased when a powerful English man-of-war appeared in sight, and it at once took possession of the *Wasp* and its prizes. But the moral effect of the *Wasp's* victory against such odds remained to encourage our seamen. And, indeed, the effect was soon to be seen. Our captains attacked English vessels against great odds; and fights occurred between English and American vessels all along our coast, and even in the waters of the Gulf and on the South American coast. The Americans were

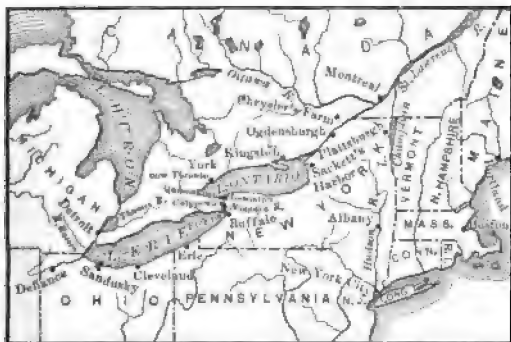
¹ "The American navy consisted of twelve vessels, the largest of which were the three 44-gun frigates *United States*, *Constitution*, and *President*. The British navy was composed of 830 vessels, of which 230 were larger than any of the American ships." Prof. A. B. Hart, "Formation of the Union."

² Captain Hull was a nephew of the General Hull who had failed so signally at Detroit, and was a brave and efficient officer.

³ See Oliver Wendell Holmes's poem, "Old Ironsides."

almost uniformly successful. During the year almost three hundred prizes, carrying valuable cargoes and manned by more than three thousand men, were captured by American cruisers. All Europe was greatly astonished at our success in fighting the "Mistress of the Seas," and England herself was astounded.

392. The Invasion of Canada. — While our ships were so fortunately engaged upon the ocean, another invasion of Canada was attempted.



General Van Rensselaer led a body of troops to the Niagara frontier of New York and prepared to cross over into Canada. Colonel Van Rensselaer with a thousand

men did cross over, and in a sharp engagement dislodged the English from Queenstown Heights, and took possession of the batteries.¹ The English, however, sent for reënforcements, and as the American militiamen who remained on the New York side would not go over to succor their gallant comrades,² after severe losses, Colonel Van Rensselaer was obliged to surrender. General Van Rensselaer, disgusted with troops so independent and undisciplined, resigned command, and was replaced with General Smyth, of Virginia. General Smyth issued some fiery proclamations, and made a show of a dashing campaign;

¹ Colonel Van Rensselaer was wounded as his forces were trying to effect a landing on the Canadian side, and the Americans were led by subordinate officers. General Brock, to whom General Hull had surrendered at Detroit, was still in command of the English troops in the attempt to retake Queenstown.

² These militiamen insisted that they had joined the army to protect the American border, but not to invade foreign territory.

but in the end he proved absolutely ineffective, and was removed after the fall had passed away and nothing had been accomplished. The invasion of Canada was, so far, a dismal failure.

393. Madison's Reëlection.—The Federal party generally, and the members of it in New England in particular, were strongly opposed to the continuance of the war; but the Republican party was committed to it, and was enthusiastic in prosecuting it. In the fall of this year Madison was renominated by the Republicans, and was reëlected, receiving 128 of the 217 electoral votes.

1813.

394. Off the Atlantic Coast.—Captain Lawrence of the *Hornet*, as a reward for his victory over the British brig *Peacock*,¹ was placed in command of the *Chesapeake*, one of our best frigates. The ship was laid up in Boston harbor to be repaired and refitted. The crew had not yet been trained and disciplined for their duties, several of the sailors were sick, and there was much dissatisfaction because of delayed pay. But Lawrence had been made over-confident by previous success, and in this poor condition he sailed out of the harbor and attacked the British



James Lawrence.

frigate *Shannon*. A dreadful combat ensued, in which both

¹ The sloop-of-war *Hornet*, commanded by Captain Lawrence, and the British brig *Peacock* had a terrific battle of a few minutes. The *Peacock* was disabled and struck her colors. The brig was damaged more than was thought and sank suddenly, engulfing nine British seamen and three Americans.

ships suffered severely, and in which Lawrence was mortally wounded: As the brave captain was carried below decks, with almost his last breath he cried to his men, "Don't give up the ship." Victory rested with the English, however, and the *Shannon*, greatly damaged, towed the shattered *Chesapeake* to Halifax, where Lawrence was buried with military honors.¹

395. Plans for the Invasion of Canada. — The land forces were this year organized in three divisions: The Army of the North, under General Hampton, was to march by way of Lake Champlain; the Army of the Center, under the command of Major-General Dearborn, was to take the old Niagara course; the Army of the West, under General Harrison, was to recover Michigan for us and again invade Canada by the way of Detroit. All these armies were to be aided by a greatly strengthened navy of the Lakes. Let us examine the western movement first.

396. The Raisin River Massacre. — An advance force of General Harrison's army drove a body of English and Indians out of Frenchtown, on the Raisin River, and captured the town. (See map, p. 253.) Shortly afterward a large force of English and Indians, under Colonel Proctor, returned to Frenchtown and attacked the Americans. Under a pledge of protection, our forces surrendered. Colonel Proctor immediately returned to Malden, and left the prisoners at the mercy of the savages. A large proportion of the captives were killed by tomahawk, knife, or fire, while some of them were dragged to Detroit and sold to Americans for heavy ransoms.

397. Fort Meigs. — General Harrison, checked by the Raisin River misfortune, built Fort Meigs (Fort Defiance on map) on the Maumee and retired to it. Here he was besieged by a large force of British and Indians, under General Proctor

¹ His remains now rest in Trinity churchyard, New York City.

and Tecumseh. During the siege a detachment of a relief party of Kentuckians were cut off from the main body and cruelly massacred after the manner of the Frenchtown outrage. But the attacking party was obliged to abandon the siege. It retired to Malden. In the latter part of July Proctor and Tecumseh, with a force twice as large as before, returned to the siege. Failing to take the fort and also to entice the Americans into the open, General Proctor took part of his force and marched away to attack Fort Stephenson (Sandusky on map). This fort was defended by one hundred and sixty men, under Captain Crogan, a young man just twenty-one. Upon the demand to surrender, the gallant captain answered that he would defend the fort so long as there was a man alive within its walls. Cannonading producing no important effect, the English made an assault to carry the fort by storm. The only gun the fort contained had been masked in position to control the trench that surrounded the walls; the attacking party, when it came within range, was almost entirely swept away by a charge from this single gun. After this deadly repulse, General Proctor, fearing that he would be attacked by a relief party under General Harrison, again retired to Malden.

398. The Victory on Lake Erie. — In September of this year, Captain Perry with a fleet of nine vessels, five of which he had just built on the shore of Lake Erie, sailed out into the lake and engaged an English fleet. Perry's own ship, the *Lawrence*, bearing the flag, "Don't give up the ship," was so cut to pieces that it had to be abandoned. Perry had to pass by some of the enemy's ships in reaching the *Niagara* of his own fleet. He carried his flag in one hand,



and in an open boat made a near and conspicuous target for the fire of the enemy. But he made the passage safely. In a few minutes after Perry reached the *Niagara* the fight was over, and the brave young captain returned to the shattered *Lawrence* to receive the surrender of the English fleet. Perry's despatch, describing the contest, was as brief and absolute in its way as the combat had been in another way: — "We have met the enemy and they are ours — two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop."¹ The victory gave us control of Lake Erie.



Oliver Hazard Perry.

399. The Thames Victory. — General Harrison was quick to seize the advantage of Perry's victory; he immediately crossed the lake to attack the English and Indians at Malden. He found Malden deserted, however, Proctor and Tecumseh having retreated with their forces. The Americans entered on a hot pursuit, and overtook the enemy at the Thames river. In the battle that ensued the British were defeated and obliged to surrender. Colonel Proctor escaped by flight. Tecumseh was shot during the battle, and the Indians fled in confusion. The western movement resulted in clearing Lake Erie, recovering Michigan, and administering a severe defeat to the enemy on his own soil. Captain Perry and General Harrison became the heroes of the nation.

¹ The British had fewer vessels, but better ones, and more men, and more but smaller guns. The English captain was one of Nelson's veterans, while Perry had never seen a naval engagement in his life.

400. The Movement in the East. — The armies of the Center and of the North gained us no important victories. The Army of the Center embarked from Sackett's Harbor and crossed the lake for the purpose of capturing Toronto. In this movement they were successful, capturing the town, taking many prisoners and securing much valuable property. The army then returned to Sackett's Harbor to find that it had been attacked in their absence, but successfully defended by the garrison left there. Late in the next month (May) the army again crossed to the Canadian side and took some minor posts. But this time they were attacked by a large English force, and had enough to do to defend themselves. A plan was now formed to unite the armies of the Center and of the North and attack Montreal. The Army of the Center sailed down the St. Lawrence to make the junction.¹ The troops were disembarked at St. Regis, where it was expected the Army of the North would soon join them. But the Army of the North had not moved, and the plan to invade Canada by this route had to be abandoned for the season.

401. On the Sea. — The contest was waged upon the sea more fiercely, perhaps, than upon land. But on the American side there was small equipment and little organization, our successes coming from the courage and enterprise of our seamen. Many English merchantmen were captured. But the English were quick to retaliate, and often went beyond just bounds in trying to punish us. They captured some of our men-of-war. Several defenseless villages along Chesapeake Bay were wantonly bombarded and destroyed. The Carolina and Virginia coasts were ravaged after the manner in which freebooters would conduct a campaign.

¹ In order to drive away the British and Indians, who were gathering in bands along the river bank to obstruct the progress of the fleet, a force was landed, and an engagement resulted. There were heavy losses on both sides — about three hundred on the American side — and nothing decisive gained.

402. The Creek Uprising. — The Creek Indians, a powerful tribe in Alabama, incited to violence by Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, fell upon the garrison at Fort Mimms and massacred more than four hundred people, sparing neither men, women, nor children. Immediate preparations were made by the southwestern states to march against the Indians. General Jackson, with a force of Tennesseans, was the first in the field. He drove the Indians before him, defeated them in several hard-fought battles, and burned one of their villages. Finally the Indian forces concentrated for a great battle, and the engagement took place at Horseshoe Bend,¹ on a branch of the Alabama River (January 27, 1814). The Indians suffered a bloody defeat, and surrendered to Jackson on his own terms.

1814.

403. The Last Invasion of Canada. — July 3, Generals Scott and Ripley, leading the Army of the Center, crossed the Niagara river into Canada. They met the English force near Chippewa, and a hotly contested battle ensued. The English were defeated, and retreated down the river to Queenstown. In sight of Niagara Falls, General Scott, with a division of the army, met the English forces again. General Scott, though greatly outnumbered, heroically held his position until reënforced by the other divisions. The fighting was desperate and very destructive to both sides. The Americans distinguished themselves by daring generalship and dogged endurance. The English were at last driven from the field with a loss of nearly a thousand men; the American losses were nearly as great. The Americans had much the smaller force.

404. The Siege of Fort Erie. — The Americans fell back to Fort Erie. Soon the English, reënforced, moved forward and invested the fort. About the middle of September, after hav-

¹ Sam Houston, afterward prominent in Texas history, was wounded in this battle.

ing besieged the fort for more than a month, the English, hearing that a division of the Army of the North was on the way to the relief of the fort, raised the siege and retired to Fort George. Early in November the Americans burned Fort Erie, and recrossed the Niagara and went into winter quarters.

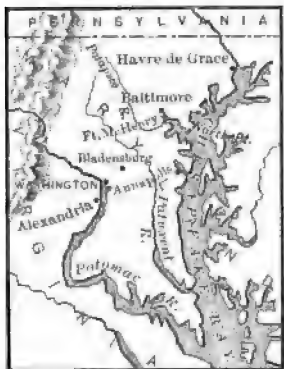


405. The Battle of Lake Champlain. — When the division of the Army of the North was taken to the relief of Fort Erie about fifteen hundred troops were left to hold Plattsburgh, on Lake Champlain. Hearing of the reduced force at Plattsburgh, the

English decided to seize the opportunity to get control of Lake Champlain. General Prevost, with fourteen thousand men, marched into New York to attack Plattsburgh, while an English fleet was to attack Commodore McDonough's squadron on the lake.¹ Fighting began on the lake first, and the Americans achieved a signal victory; several of the English ships surrendered, but some of the smaller ones fled, and escaped pursuit because our own ships were too badly damaged to chase them. In the meantime, the small land force had held the fourteen thousand English veterans in check, and when the news of the American victory on the lake reached the English general he retreated under the enthusiastic charge of the rejoicing militia, leaving his sick and wounded and his military stores, and made haste to get back into Canada.

¹ The English squadron had more men and more guns. One of McDonough's vessels had just been built, within twenty days, on the bank of the lake.

406. Along the Coast. — The blockade which had been put upon the southern coast the previous year was now extended to the northern coast. Several small towns near the seaboard had been captured and destroyed. In August a British fleet¹ of twenty-one vessels reached our country and landed on the Maryland shore an army of five thousand men, whose purpose was to capture Washington. A force of militia and marines was put forward to intercept them, but it was defeated. The English suddenly appeared at the capitol, captured the president's dinner, which he had just left, and came near capturing the president himself. The capitol buildings and some private residences were burned. General Ross, who commanded the land force, then marched his army against Baltimore, and instructed the fleet to bombard Fort Henry, Baltimore's protection from attacks by sea. The land force was checked in its march by a determined body of militia, and in a preliminary skirmish General Ross himself was killed. The British men-of-war bombarded Fort Henry all day and part of the night without doing serious damage.² The troops then reëmbarked, the siege was raised, and the squadron sailed away.



¹ Admiral Cockburn, who commanded this fleet, was a vandal and a barbarian. He stood in the speaker's chair in the capitol, waved his hat and gave the command to burn the building, which contained the precious records of the new nation. He burned defenseless villages, and even country houses occupied only by women. See Coffin's "Building of the Nation."

² Francis S. Key, detained on board an English man-of-war, watching by the flashes of the guns the flag that waved on Fort Henry, composed the "Star-Spangled Banner."

407. The Hartford Convention. — New England had bitterly opposed the methods pursued during the progress of the war, and now that the blockade had extended to its own ports, that the capitol had been burned and nothing was secure, it felt willing to resort to strong measures. At the suggestion of the Massachusetts Legislature a convention was called, and delegates from all the New England states met at Hartford December 15. The discussions of this convention have forever been secret, and the official record of its proceedings was not made public by the convention itself. The Republican party openly charged the convention with treasonable purposes, with the intention of advising the states represented to secede from the Union and make peace with England, or proffer allegiance to the enemy. If these charges were without foundation they might easily have been disproven, but no effort was made to refute them. The convention was so condemned by the people generally that it ruined the Federalist party.¹

408. Peace. — Both sides were tired of the conflict, and neither side had gained anything decisive. The treaty signed at Ghent, December 24, was as negative in its nature as the war had been. Nothing for which the war had been fought was mentioned in the treaty; the two nations, tired of war, did little more than agree to peace. However, the moral and substantial victories were with us in reality, although they were not formally mentioned in the terms of the treaty. Since that day England has never confiscated our ships, nor impressed our seamen, nor blockaded our ports. We demonstrated to the world that American seamen were equal in every way to English seamen, and were better gunners. And we proved to all interested parties that any attempt to establish a foreign power on our territory would meet with disastrous failure.

¹ A representative was sent from the convention to confer with the president, but peace was declared before the conference could take place.

409. Battle of New Orleans. — Although the treaty of peace had been signed on December 24, on January 8 one of the bloodiest battles of the war was fought at New Orleans. We had no telegraph then, and the news of the treaty did not reach us till after the battle. The British made great preparations for the conquest of Louisiana. A fleet of fifty vessels, carrying twelve thousand men, under command of General Pakenham, sailed to attack New Orleans. General Jackson, who, after his victory over the Creeks, had been placed in command of the Army of the South, hastened to defend the city. Jackson had but six thousand men, but they were well protected behind breastworks. The English made one assault after another on these extemporized defenses, but they were repulsed with heavy losses every time. Their general and many of their chief officers were killed. Their losses amounted to twenty-six hundred men. The Americans had but eight men killed and thirteen wounded.

410. Admission of States. — The Territory of Orleans, which was the southern part of the Louisiana purchase, was admitted to the Union in 1812 under the name of Louisiana, making the eighteenth state. The northern part of the territory was thereafter called Missouri. Indiana, the second state from the Northwest Territory, was admitted in 1816.

411. Summary. — The new president and his advisers were unable to make satisfactory terms with England. England prohibited trade with France, and France prohibited trade with England. The English searched our vessels, captured our seamen and forced them into the British service. The belief that the English had instigated the Indian uprising in the Northwest, and the revelations of the Henry letters, hastened the declaration of war (June, 1812). The contest is known as the War of 1812, but it lasted more than two years. The terms of the treaty of peace (signed at Ghent December 24, 1814) did not settle the matters in dispute. But we have never since had the same causes for trouble, and the English have never since that time presumed to confiscate our merchantmen, nor to capture and impress our seamen. Our standing among nations of the world was

greatly improved by our success in resisting the British on the sea; in every important engagement, except one, where the forces were at all evenly matched, the British ships had to strike their colors. We showed, too, by this war, that we were able to defend ourselves against foreign invasion, and that, therefore, the United States was secure to work out its own history. Louisiana was admitted in 1812; Indiana in 1816.

412. Thought Questions.—Let the student summarize the events of the war under the following heads:

1. War on the northern frontier.
2. War on the Atlantic coast.
3. Naval battles.
4. Events in the South.

In what quarter (as above indicated) were the American arms most successful? When did the greatest number of American failures occur? Can you explain why?

MONROE'S ADMINISTRATION.

Two Terms: 1817-1825.

413. Services and Character of the New President.—James Monroe, of Virginia, was a student in William and Mary College when the United States declared their independence of Great Britain. He joined the American forces and served throughout the war, distinguishing himself as a soldier and an officer. He was minister to France under President Washington. President Jefferson sent him to France for the purchase of Louisiana, and afterwards appointed him minister to England. He served in Madison's cabinet as secretary of state. The new president was a kind-hearted man, but firm and determined in purpose. He was modest in regard to his own talents and services, and generous in admiration of the ability and usefulness of others.

414. The President's Northern Tour.—Soon after his inauguration, Monroe made a tour through the New England and other eastern states. During the war of 1812, New England had become disaffected toward the government and the Union

(§ 407), and it was Monroe's purpose to express the president's undiminished regard for this section, and to incite the loyalty of the people. He was received everywhere most cordially. The people who had favored the war, those who had opposed it, and the radical Federalist leaders who had advocated such extreme measures against it, now that the war was ended and its objects accomplished, united in doing honor to the nation's president.¹ The Federalist party went to pieces over its course in regard to this war, and our whole people seemed to be united in one party.



Monroe.

Indeed, as years went on, the period of Monroe's administration began to be called the "Era of Good Feeling," so cordial and harmonious was the support given the president. Only one electoral vote was cast against him on his election to the second term.

415. Extension of Territory : the Seminole War. — At this time Florida belonged to Spain (§ 323), and on its territory there were some Spanish forts garrisoned with Spanish soldiers. The population, however, was made up of Seminole Indians, runaway slaves, and a few English adventurers. The Seminoles formed the greater part of this mixed population. These people made frequent raids across the border into

¹ On formal occasions Monroe appeared clad in his Revolutionary uniform, and completely won the hearts of the scarred veterans of our early struggle for independence.

Georgia, destroying property, stealing slaves, and murdering settlers. When pursued into Florida, these marauding bands claimed the protection of neutral territory, or fled to the secret recesses of the everglades beyond pursuit. These raids finally became so frequent and so exasperating that General Jackson, the New Orleans hero, was sent to the front to teach the Seminoles and their allies a lesson. Jackson dealt with the matter after his usual summary manner. He drove the Indians out of Georgia, and followed them into Florida, where they scattered into the swamps to save themselves. He captured and destroyed the Seminoles' chief village, took forcible possession of two or three principal Spanish forts, and executed two British subjects¹ who had aided the Indians.

Jackson's course caused a heated controversy in Congress, where he was accused of exceeding his instructions and of violating the law of nations. The administration, though embarrassed by his actions, defended his course, and Congress refused to censure him. Spain finally decided to sell us the territory of Florida. It was bought, in 1819, for five million dollars. As one of the conditions of this purchase we agreed that the Sabine River should form our southwestern boundary. By this agreement we relinquished in Spain's favor all claims to Texas.² Alabama was admitted as a State December 14, 1819.

416. Slavery. — In 1818, the Union consisted of twenty-two states, half "free" and half "slave," with the Ohio River and the south line of Pennsylvania as the boundary between them. Circumstances had made it possible that a new Southern territory could be put forward for admission directly after the admission of each new Northern state, so that the balance

¹ Arbuthnot was an ex-lieutenant of British marines; Ambrister was a trader of Scotch descent. The two had formed a friendly alliance between themselves and with the Indians. It was believed that they instigated and planned many of the raids.

² The United States had claimed Texas as part of the Louisiana purchase.

had been preserved. There had been much discussion of slavery privately, in the public prints and on public platforms. Northern sentiment was divided. There was a small faction that, on moral grounds, insisted on the abolition of slavery. A greater faction feared the growth and final preponderance of the slave-holding population. A third faction, from the nature of the terms of the original union of states and the reading of the Constitution, thought it illegal and dishonorable to restrict slavery beyond the original provisions and prohibitions of the Constitution. In the South, there were many people who were opposed to slavery on moral grounds (Jefferson, Clay, and other great leaders among them), and who hoped for the gradual extinction of slavery;¹ but the major part of the population, through custom or self-interest,² had come to think the mild form of slavery that existed in the South best for both negroes and whites. And it was seen by sensible people everywhere that the immediate abolition of slavery meant ruin to the South; it would rob both races of the means of living.

417. The Missouri Compromise. — When a territorial government was proposed for Missouri (1819), the controversy broke out in intense form. The dividing line between the “free” and the “slave” states — the Ohio River — was lost on the west side of the Mississippi. Should Missouri be “free”

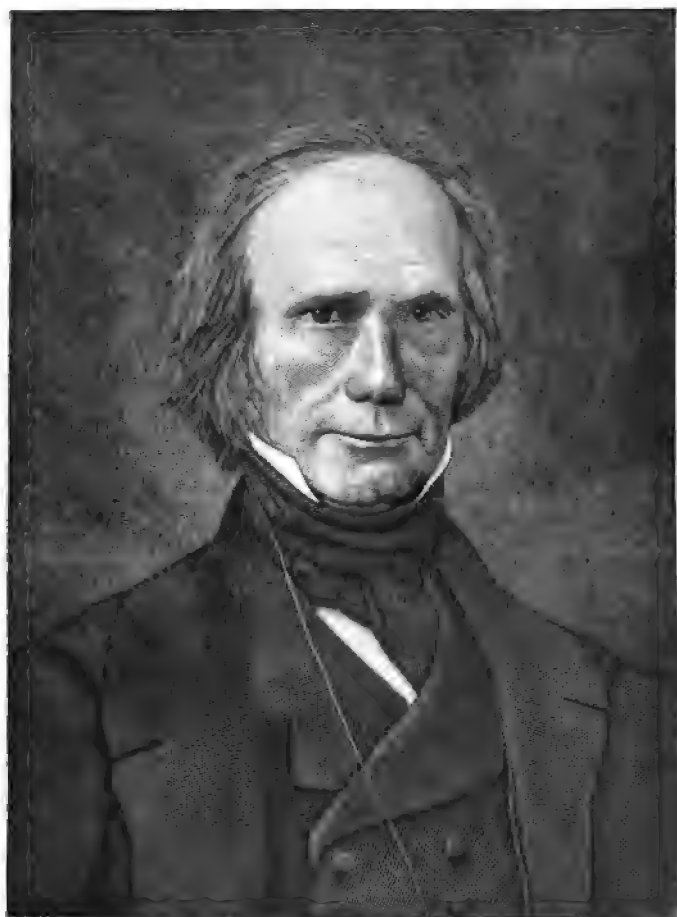
¹ Jefferson's plan for the gradual extinction of slavery was to declare all negroes born after a certain date free, to keep these free-born negroes with their parents until able to maintain themselves, and then to ship them to some friendly asylum outside of the United States, bought and prepared for the purpose. With this plan, slavery would perish with the death of the negroes who were still in bondage on the date set.

² In the beginning all sections without distinction bought and sold slaves, and no section thought it wrong (§§ 91, 139, 209). The negroes were at first used chiefly as domestic servants; but, with the development of cotton and rice-growing in the Southern states, they became almost indispensable in the fields of this section; so that their number grew very fast at the South and very slowly at the North. After a while there came a day when the liberation of slaves meant but slight loss to the North and ruin to the South.

or "slave"? It lay for the most part north of the Ohio line, but it had been settled chiefly by slaveholders, and its own voice was for slaveholding. In Congress the advocates of "free" territory at first gained the advantage; but in the end Missouri was organized without any restrictions as to slavery. When the bill to admit Missouri as a state came up next year (1820), the contest was renewed. Maine¹ was asking for admission as a free state at the same time. Those who favored the admission of Missouri as a slave state joined the two states in one bill, so that they should succeed or fail together. But there could be no quarrel over Maine, as it was wholly free, and the real battle was fought over Missouri. The Northern states insisted that Congress had the right to prohibit slavery in the states it admitted to the Union, and should exercise the right; the Southern people urged that each state should determine its own domestic concerns, and that Missouri should be allowed to say whether it should enter as a free or slave state. The debate that followed was a long and able one, and sometimes reached a very angry tone. Through the eloquence and influence of Henry Clay, a compromise was effected. By its terms Missouri entered as a slave state (1821), but with the provision that any state afterward formed out of the Louisiana purchase lying north of 36° 30'—the southern boundary of Missouri—must enter as a free state; any state formed out of the purchase south of this line might decide for itself whether it would be free or slave. By a separate bill Maine was admitted as a free state the day after the Missouri Compromise bill was passed.

418. Internal Improvements.—In this day, railroads were unknown, and overland commerce was carried on solely by wagons drawn by draught animals. With such slow means of transportation, distress might exist in one part of the country

¹ Up to this time, Maine had been Massachusetts territory.



HENRY CLAY.

while another section had more food products than could be used or sold. Anything that would lead to a quicker and more general distribution of supplies would, of course, greatly aid the development of the country. In 1817, through the influence of Governor Clinton and by the authority of the state legislature, work was begun on the Erie Canal. It extended from the eastern end of Lake Erie to Albany on the Hudson, and when completed (1825) was 363 miles long. It afforded an extremely cheap means of transportation, and assisted greatly in the development of the interior of New York, and even of Ohio and the western country. With its help, New York City jumped into the front rank of commercial cities, and has ever since been the great commercial center of the Union.

419. The Cumberland Road. — This highway, begun in a small town in Maryland, supported at first by state funds, grew in importance until it became a subject of national discussion and of national aid. It was fostered and encouraged by the powerful Clay and an enthusiastic party. It was finally extended, eighty feet wide, paved with hard stone, "a noble turnpike," to Wheeling. It proved highly useful in developing the West and in adding to the wealth of the East. Clay planned to extend it down the Ohio to the Mississippi. A southern road was projected from Washington to New Orleans.

420. The Monroe Doctrine. — Several of the Spanish colonies in South America revolted, and set up governments of their own. The United States was the first nation to recognize their independence. Later, France gave notice that she would call a congress of the great powers to consider the revolt of these colonies. Of course, the plan would be to reduce these revolted colonies to European dependence by putting over them kings sent from the royal families of Europe. In opposition to this purpose, President Monroe sent to Congress (1823) a message that declared, "That we should con-

sider any attempt on their part (the part of the European powers) to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety," and further that, "The American continents, by the free and independent position which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." "In these two propositions consists the celebrated 'Monroe Doctrine,' a doctrine, we may add, which our later statesmen have developed at their convenience, linking it inseparably with the name of the president who thus pronounced it, and seeing in it what many hundred millions of American freemen, in the long vista of coming centuries, will still better recognize, if free institutions are capable of growth and endurance, the sacred stone of chartered liberty in the Western world."¹ This message was carefully studied in all the capitals of Europe; the congress was never called; the plan of reducing the revolted colonies was abandoned.

421. Lafayette's Visit. — In 1824, Lafayette (§ 286), now nearly seventy years old, in response to an invitation from the president, made our country a visit. He stayed more than a year, and visited every state in the Union. He was received everywhere with the greatest enthusiasm, the survivors of the Revolution showing the deepest feeling at again clasping the hand of their old comrade-in-arms. Lafayette had joined our struggle for independence at its darkest hour; he had expended large sums of money from his private fortune to help our cause; he had brought us soldiers and had given us the prestige of his great name; in joining us, he relinquished his home and a certain career of distinction in his own country; he repeatedly risked his life in our service; and he had joined his fortunes with ours from a pure sympathy with the oppressed, an ideal love of abstract liberty; he had not

¹ Schouler, "History of the United States," Vol. III, p. 288.

suffered our wrongs or borne our yoke. We were deeply in debt to him and anxious to show our appreciation of his noble conduct. Congress seized this opportunity, when he visited our country in his old age, broken in fortune, suffering the loss of political power at home, to express our gratitude. Two hundred thousand dollars and twenty-four thousand acres of land were voted to him as a slight expression of the affectionate remembrance of a grateful people. Some of the states were eager to add special grants to the national grant, but Lafayette thought it best not to accept the state grants.¹

422. The Presidential Election.— This year there were four candidates for the presidency, all calling themselves Republicans. Andrew Jackson received 99 electoral votes, John Quincy Adams, 84; W. H. Crawford, 41; and Henry Clay, 37. As none of the candidates had a majority, there was no election, and it became the duty of the House to select a president. Clay threw his strength for Adams, who, with him, favored high tariff and loose construction of the Constitution, and Adams was elected.

¹ The American youth who loves liberty cannot find a better subject for study than the career of Lafayette. His connection with our Revolution was merely a picturesque and significant incident in a long life devoted to the cause of constitutional liberty. His career was one marked by the most extreme vicissitudes: he was one of the leading factors in the Revolution, a few years after the American struggle, in his own country; his party lost its power, and Lafayette to save his life fled from the country; he was captured and thrown into an Austrian prison, where he spent several years; he was liberated by the great Napoleon; again became an important figure; again had reverses, and came to this country, broken in fortune, and having lost his seat in the French legislature; but before his death, after visiting America, he again became prominent and powerful. He followed the star of liberty through good and evil report, through the darkest nights and through days of the greatest splendor; he risked his life by the peasant's side against the oppressor's tyranny, and he threw his sheltering arm around the dethroned monarch to protect him from the despotic fury of the mob; and through his long career he was the same brave, true, chivalrous knight, the same consistent democrat, the same picturesque, heroic figure.

423. Summary.—The president's northern tour aroused patriotic feeling and added to his personal popularity. The Federalist party, which had violently opposed the war, was ruined by the successful result achieved, and by the overwhelming endorsement of the new president, whom it had also opposed. The Seminole Indians, who had long been troublesome, were severely punished by Jackson. The territory (Florida) which served as a refuge to these lawless Indians was sold to us by Spain for \$5,000,000. Missouri's request for admission as a state brought up a new and bitter agitation of the slavery question. Missouri was admitted under a compromise which forbade slavery in all other Louisiana territory north of 36° 30', leaving the question to the choice of the inhabitants in territory south of this limit. The Erie Canal, extending from Lake Erie to the Hudson (363 miles), was completed in 1825. The Cumberland Road was built from Maryland to Wheeling. President Monroe declared that the United States would oppose any attempt on the part of European powers to gain control of any countries in America. Lafayette made a tour of our country, and was presented with money and land as an expression of our gratitude.

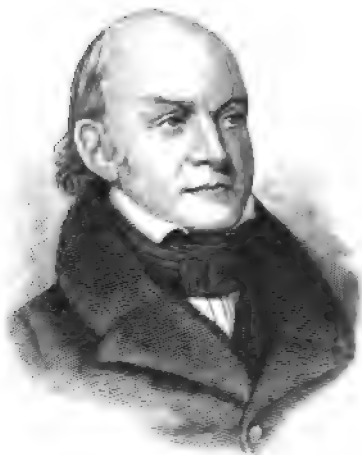
424. Thought Questions.—Give brief sketch of the history of Florida up to the time of its purchase by the United States. (Treat of its discovery, exploration, settlement, population, conflicts with neighboring colonies, changes of ownership.) Why are canals of less importance now than formerly? Do you consider the Monroe Doctrine justifiable? Give your reasons. What do you consider the most important event of this administration?

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS'S ADMINISTRATION.

One Term: 1825-1829.

425. Services and Character of the New President.—John Quincy Adams, son of the second president, was born in Massachusetts, in 1767, and lived to be 81 years of age. Most of his life was spent in office. When he was but twenty-seven years old, Washington appointed him minister to the Netherlands. At different times, he was our minister to Holland, Germany, Russia, and England. As our representative, he spent fifteen years at foreign courts. While abroad, he

served on several special missions, among them the important one that negotiated the treaty of Ghent that closed the war of 1812. He was secretary of state in Monroe's cabinet and succeeded Monroe as president. In less than two years after his retirement from the presidency, he was elected to Congress from his district in Massachusetts, and served continuously until his death fifteen years later. He was a pure patriot and statesman of great learning and experience. He was cold, blunt, and haughty in manner, the reverse of the simple Republican that he was in principle.



John Quincy Adams.

426. Material Advancement.— The Erie Canal was opened during the year of Adams's inauguration, and it was seen that by its means freight could be handled profitably at one-tenth the former cost of transportation. The demonstration of this fact gave a great impetus to canal-building. Canals were projected by individuals, companies, and states, and for many of them aid was asked from Congress. Pennsylvania wished to connect Pittsburg and Philadelphia, Ohio proposed to join Lake Erie and the Ohio River, Virginia and Maryland united on a favorite plan, and it was prophesied that a waterway would finally be made between the Pacific ports of Oregon and Philadelphia. Many of these canals were actually completed, and no doubt canal-building would have gone beyond the most extravagant prophecies of the day if something better had not

speedily been found in railroads. Steamboats were to be found in great numbers along our western coast and on our western rivers. Steamships had crossed the ocean by this time; but they were not depended upon for regular trips. Canals aided commerce in the East, and steamboats on the Ohio and Mississippi were fast developing the West. A few



Mohawk Valley, showing Erie Canal.

miles of railroad track were now in use, but the cars were drawn by horses. The locomotive was not tried until a year or so after Adams's administration closed. Illuminating gas was first successfully used in London in 1813. It came into general use in New York City in 1825, but the other cities were much slower in taking hold of it and it was many years before it came to be used in the small towns.

427. Adams's Policy.—Adams's views were in perfect harmony with this spirit of development; and it was the purpose of the president to encourage progress with all the influence his administration could command. He boldly declared, in his inaugural address, that his administration would stand or fall on the policy of internal improvements. In his first annual message, he urged Congress to multiply roads and canals,

endow a national university, make appropriations for scientific research, and erect an observatory.¹

428. Failure of the Policy.— Congress paid very little attention to the policy outlined by the president. The “Era of Good Feeling,” of Monroe’s administration, was followed in Adams’s administration by the growth of new parties,² political agitation, personal and party rivalries and bitterness. Many thought it unjust that Adams, who had fewer votes than Jackson (§ 422), should have been selected for the presidency; and the president was unpopular with those who thought so. The fact that Henry Clay, whose influence caused this minority candidate to be elected, was immediately made secretary of state, gave rise to the charge that the president and secretary had made a corrupt bargain.³ These condemnations were used very successfully by politicians to make the president and his administration unpopular. Besides there were many people who thought that internal improvements should be taken care of by state appropriations and believed that it was wrong to appropriate national revenues for these purposes. In the end, an appropriation of \$30,000 for repairs on the Cumberland Road (§ 419), an order for the removal of obstructions from

¹ In 1835, when a member of Congress, he was made chairman of the Congressional committee that was to consider the bequest of James Smithson, of London, of \$400,000 to establish at Washington an institution for the diffusion of knowledge. He presented a very able report, and introduced the bill creating the Smithsonian Institution, an institution of which the nation has since grown justly proud. The ex-president counted his services in connection with this institution among the most valuable of those rendered by him to his country.

² The Clay and Adams factions united and called themselves National Republicans. They were “loose constructionists,” believed in public improvements at national expense and in a high tax on imports. Those who opposed the administration called themselves Democrats. They believed in holding closely to the Constitution, in a low tariff, and in using the national revenues only for the support of the government.

³ Senator Randolph, of Virginia, referred to the matter as the contract between “Puritan and blackleg.” Clay challenged Randolph and a duel was fought. Neither duellist was hurt.

the Ohio River, grants of some public lands in aid of canals, turnpikes, and to establish some institutions of learning, was the little that Congress would do in response to the glowing message that had asked so much.

429. The Creek Land Trouble. — By an agreement with Georgia, in 1802, in consideration of the territory which afterwards made the States of Alabama and Mississippi, the United States undertook to deliver to Georgia the lands held by the Indians in the state. In carrying out this agreement, several millions of acres of land had been bought from the Indians and the title transferred to Georgia; but there was still a large section of this land in the possession of the Indians. The people of the state began to complain of the delay in effecting the total transfer. Negotiations were again begun with the Indians. In 1825, a treaty was made¹ that ceded the remainder of the Georgia lands and a large tract in Alabama besides. But the Indians immediately repudiated the treaty, saying that it was fraudulent; and expressed their savage indignation by burning the house of their agent, General McIntosh, and afterwards murdering him. They sent a delegation to Washington to show that the treaty had been obtained by corrupt means and to ask a reconsideration. President Adams thought the treaty unfair and probably unfairly obtained. He sent a body of troops to Georgia with instructions to their general to obtain a new cession about which there could be no question. Under the direction of the Georgia authorities the survey of the new lands acquired by the McIntosh treaty had already begun. The federal officer asked that the survey cease. The governor, taking the position that the lands had been turned over to the state, and could be managed at the state's discretion, insisted that the survey should proceed.

¹ The United States was represented by two agents, the Indians by General McIntosh, their chief.

The president finally notified the governor that he would expect all surveys to cease until Congress should consider the matter. There was further controversy between the state and federal authorities, and considerable excitement arose in Georgia. In the end, a new and undisputed cession was made by which the Indians relinquished the lands and bound themselves to emigrate to a new home beyond the Mississippi.

430. Character of the Period.— The people had already shown a great interest in public improvements. They saw the advantages to be gained by good roads, open waterways, cheap exchange of products. The president urged Congress to aid the people in developing the country. But Congress believed that it had no right to use national funds to aid any enterprise not wholly national in its character. So Congress granted very little of all the president asked. But progress was the watchword of the day. By means of aid from states, and from private enterprise, improvements multiplied in all parts of the country. The advancement was as great as the president had hoped, though it was not brought about as he had planned it.

431. Summary.— The Erie Canal, opened in 1825, proved that freight could be carried by it at one-tenth the price paid for the old wagon transportation. Other canals were built and many more were planned. Railroads, however, soon checked the growth of canals. Steamboats were to be found on our coasts and on our large rivers. Steamships crossed the ocean. Illuminating gas was used in New York City in 1825. The president's policy was to build up public improvements with the national revenues. Congress opposed this policy and granted very little that he asked. Improvements went forward rapidly by means of private enterprise. In settling an old agreement, the Creek lands in Georgia were bought by the government and transferred to the state.

432. Thought Questions.— What benefits result from cheap and rapid transportation? Of the six presidents so far considered, who served only one term? Account for the failure of these two to be reelected. What was the distinguishing feature of John Quincy Adams's administration?

TOPICAL ANALYSIS (DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED STATES).

WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION. — 1789-97.

- 347. **The First President.**
- 348. **The Inauguration.** { Enthusiasm of the people.
Delay in the ceremony.
- 349. **Political Parties.** { The Federalists.
The Anti-Federalists.
- 350. **The New Nation.** { Population.
Area.
Patriotism.
- 351. **The First Cabinet.** { The president's policy.
Officers appointed.
- 352. **Finances.** { The public debt.
Hamilton's plans.
- 353. **The Whiskey Insurrection.** { Cause.
Incidents.
- 354. **Extension of Frontier.** { Pioneers in the West.
Conflicts with the Indians.
New states.
- 355. **Foreign Relations.** { France and England.
Citizen Genet.
Treaty with England.
- 356. **The Cotton Gin.** { The inventor.
The invention.
Results.
- 357. **The Second Term.**
- 358. **Condition of the Country.** { Travel and news.
Horses and plows.
Stoves and fuel.
School apparatus.

ADAMS'S ADMIN. — 1797-1801.

- 361. **The New President.**
- 362. **Change of the Capital.** { Site of the city.
District of Columbia.
- 363. **Trouble with France.** { Quarrel with the Directory.
Steps toward war.
- 364. **Death of Washington.**
- 365. **The Alien and Sedition Laws.**
- 366. **The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions.** { Opposition to the Alien and Sedition Laws.
Action of Virginia and Kentucky.
- 367. **Treaty with France.**
- 368. **Presidential Election.** { Complication.
Final settlement.

JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION. — 1801-9.

- 371. **The New President.**
- 372. **Republican Simplicity.** Jefferson's course.
- 373. **Pirates of the Mediterranean.** {
 - Depredations of the pirates.
 - Practice of European nations.
 - Action of the United States.
 - Treaty.
- 374. **A New State.**
- 375. **The Louisiana Purchase.** {
 - Importance of the Mississippi.
 - Different owners of Louisiana.
 - Purchase by the United States.
 - Results.
- 376. **Lewis and Clarke Expedition.** {
 - Purpose.
 - Route.
 - Results.
- 377. **Trouble with England.** {
 - Action of England and France.
 - The Embargo Act.
 - Repeal of the Act.
- 378. **Aaron Burr's Treason.** {
 - Duel with Hamilton.
 - Trial for treason.
- 379. **Importation of Slaves Prohibited.**
- 384. **The First Steamboat.** {
 - The inventor.
 - The invention.
 - Results.

MADISON'S ADMIN. — 1809-17.
SECOND WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

- 383. **The New President.**
- 384. **Difficulties of the Administration.** {
 - Disputes with England and France.
 - Policy of United States.
- 385. **The Process of Relief.** {
 - Negotiations with England.
 - Negotiations with France.
- 386. **The Tippecanoe Incident.** {
 - Indian uprising.
 - Harrison's campaign.
 - Feeling against England.
- 387. **Wrongs to our Seamen.**
- 388. **Declaration of War.** {
 - Grievances against England.
 - War declared.
- EVENTS OF 1812. {
 - 389. **First Movement against Canada.**
 - 390, 391. **Naval Battles.** {
 - Constitution* and *Guerrière*.
 - Wasp* and *Frolic*.
 - American success.
 - 392. **Invasion of Canada.** {
 - Queenstown Heights.
 - Disgraceful conduct of militia.
 - Failure of this movement.
 - 393. **Madison's Reëlection.**

MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION. SECOND WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN. (Continued.)

EVENTS OF 1813.

395. **Plan of Land Forces.**396-9. **Events in the West.**

{ Raisin River massacre.
 Forts Meigs and Stephenson.
 Victory on Lake Erie.
 Invasion of Canada ; Thames victory.
 Results of the Western campaign.

400. **Events in the East.**

{ Invasion of Canada : Toronto.
 Defense of Sackett's Harbor.
 Canada again invaded.
 Movement against Montreal.

394, 401. **On the Sea.**

{ *Chesapeake* and *Shannon*.
 Disadvantages overcome.
 Ravages on Atlantic coast.

402. **The Creek Uprising.**

{ Massacre at Fort Mims.
 Battle of Horseshoe Bend.

EVENTS OF 1814.

403, 404. **Last Invasion of Canada.**

{ Chippewa.
 Niagara Falls.
 Fort Erie.
 Withdrawal from Canada.

405. **Battle of Lake Champlain.**

{ Reduced forces of Americans.
 British attacking forces.
 The victory.

406. **Along the Coast.**

{ The blockade.
 Sacking of the capital.
 Attack on Baltimore.

407. **The Hartford Convention.**

{ Dissatisfaction in New England.
 Meeting of the convention.
 Effect.

408. **Peace.**

{ The treaty.
 Results of the war.

EVENTS OF 1815.

409. **Battle of New Orleans.**

{ Battle unnecessary.
 The opposing armies.
 The victory.

410. **New States.**

{ From Louisiana purchase.
 From Northwest Territory.

- MONROE'S ADMINISTRATION. — 1817-25.**
- 413. **The New President.**
 - 414. **President's Northern Tour.** { Purpose.
Incidents.
Result.
 - 415. **Extension of Territory.** { The Seminole War.
Purchase of Florida.
Alabama admitted.
 - 416. **Slavery.** { The sections balanced.
Opinion in the North.
Opinion in the South.
 - 417. **The Missouri Compromise.** { The dispute.
The settlement.
 - 418, 419. **Improvements.** { The Erie Canal.
The Cumberland Road.
 - 420. **The Monroe Doctrine.** { The occasion.
The "Doctrine."
The result.
 - 421. **Lafayette's Visit.**
 - 422. **Presidential Election.** { No decision by electors.
Decision by the House.
- J. Q. ADAMS'S ADMINISTRATION. — 1825-29.**
- 425. **The New President.**
 - 426. **Material Advancement.** { Canals and steamboats.
Railroads.
Illuminating gas.
 - 427. **The President's Policy.** Recommendations to Congress.
 - 428. **Failure of the Policy.** { Unpopularity of the president.
Action of Congress.
 - 429. **The Creek Land Trouble.** { Agreement between Georgia and United States.
Trouble between Georgia and the Indians.
Trouble between Georgia and United States.
 - 430. **Character of the Period.**

GROWTH OF SECTIONAL ANTAGONISM.

(JACKSON TO BUCHANAN.)

JACKSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

Two Terms: 1829-1837.

433. Services and Character of the New President.—

Andrew Jackson was born in North Carolina in 1767. He early made his home in Tennessee, was a resident of the state when he was elected to the presidency, and after serving his term returned to his estate there, where he resided till his death in 1845. His chief services to his country previous to his election to the presidency were of a military character.



Andrew Jackson.

With volunteer and independent parties he aided the patriots in the Revolution. He was captured by the British and much mistreated by them. In the war of 1812, he distinguished himself by his wonderful defense of New Orleans (\$ 409). His great popularity was due to the people's enthusiasm for him as a daring and successful military chieftain. He was, besides, a western man and carried the support of this growing territory. He was a man

of the people in his origin, in his habits, and in his methods of thought; and the plain people of the South and West elected him to the presidency and loyally supported him through the eight years of his stormy contests with politicians and would-be aristocrats. He was a man of strong will, disposed to control every movement with which he was connected. He was honest and fearless and blunt of speech. He was a loyal citizen, prepared to sacrifice property or life to his country; but his methods were those of a partisan and he sometimes mistook his own prejudices for national principles.

434. Changes in Office.— Jackson dominated his administration to a degree unusual with presidents. He was familiar only with the methods of military government which cause the prompt and unhesitating execution of the orders of the superior officers. He carried the same methods into civil life and expected and exacted prompt and decisive action in furthering his plans and policies. He was the first president to follow to a noticeable extent the policy of removing personal or political opponents from office and appointing personal or political friends in their stead. In the midst of his first term, he dissolved his cabinet and appointed a new one; and during his two terms, he made twenty cabinet appointments. These political removals subjected the president to severe criticism;¹ but later presidents have followed the same practice, though seldom to the same degree of partisanship. Lately the reform of the civil service has come to be an important issue in national politics.

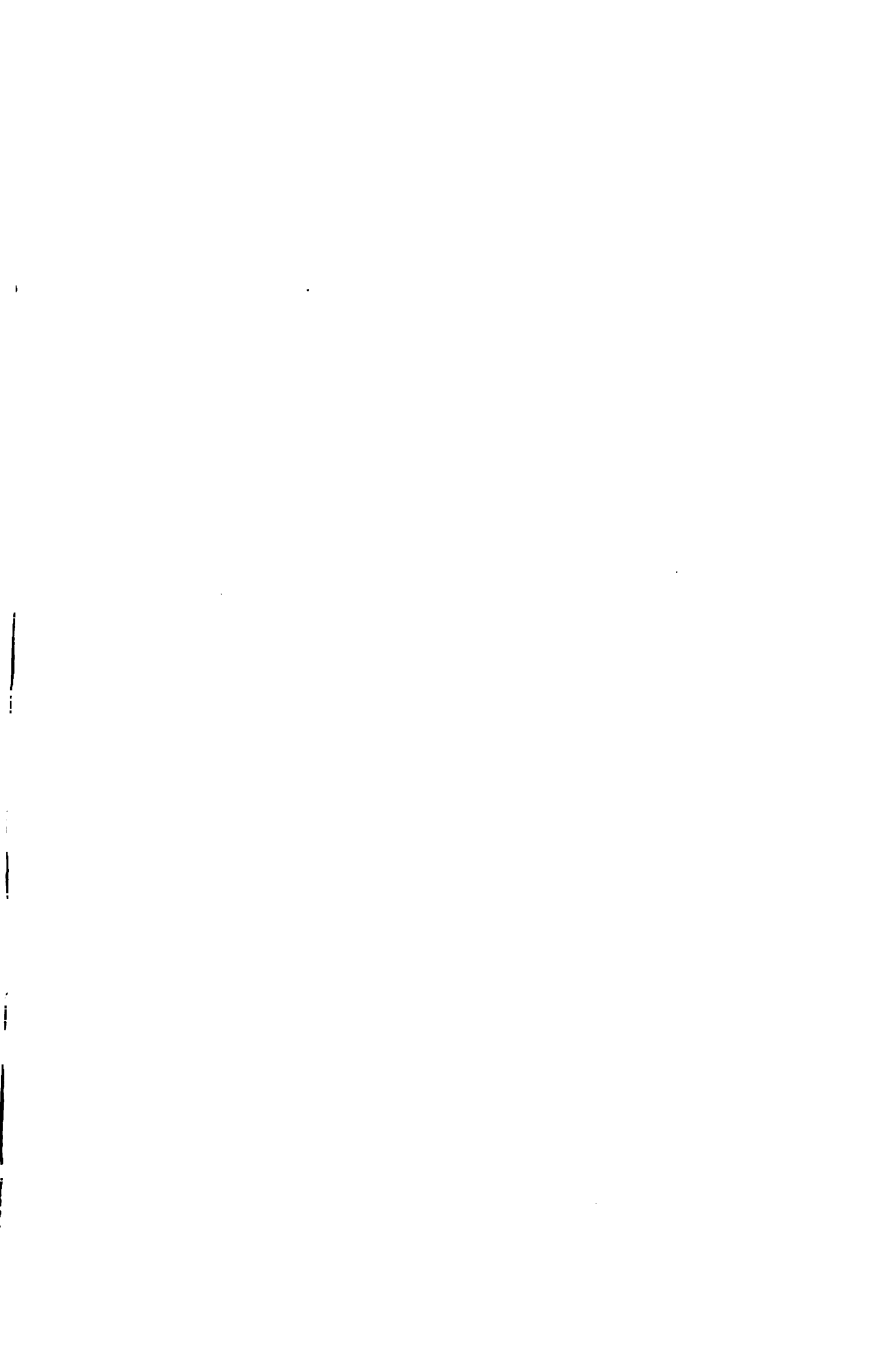
435. The National Bank.— Up to this time, the financial transactions of the government had been managed through a national bank situated at Philadelphia² (§ 352). This central bank had twenty-five branches in the different states. Its charter, granted in 1816, was for a term of twenty years. Jackson, in his first message to Congress (1829), questioned both the soundness of the law creating the bank and the wisdom of its continuance. He said that it had failed in one of the chief purposes for which it was established, viz.: that of making an uniform and sound currency. He suggested that Congress try some other plan. His utterances on this subject were a great surprise to the people and caused excited discussion all over

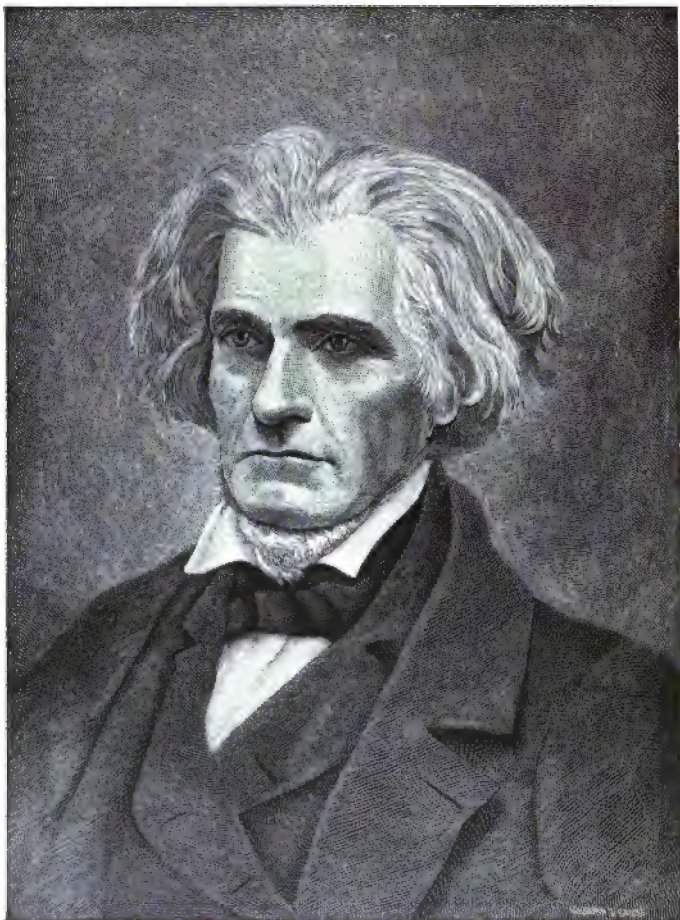
¹ "Of Jackson's procedure in this matter it can be said, in partial excuse, so bitter had been the opposition to him by office-holders as well as others, that many removals were undoubtedly indispensable in order to the efficiency of the public service." — *Andrews's History of the United States*, Vol. I, p. 357.

² The first United States bank was chartered for twenty-five years, 1789-1814.

the country. Gradually, as this discussion continued, and voters began to take sides for or against the bank, the question of the renewal of its charter became a leading issue in politics. The president and his friends continually and vigorously opposed the renewal of the charter; Henry Clay and his friends, and the bank's friends, and the enemies of the president united in upholding the bank and in pressing for a new charter. In his second message, the president again opposed the re-charter of the bank, and a bill to renew the charter for fifteen years was killed by his veto. Late in 1833, in the vacation of Congress, the president, through the secretary of the treasury, began depositing the nation's funds, as they came in, in state banks. Before March of the following year, more than six million dollars had been paid out from the national bank. The necessity of producing so much money in so short a time necessarily strained the resources of the bank to the utmost; but it stood firm and met all engagements. When Congress met, Senator Clay introduced a resolution censuring the president and the secretary of the treasury for withdrawing the public patronage from the bank. A long and angry debate followed. When a vote was reached, it was found that the Senate was for condemning the president's course and in favor of returning the funds to the national bank. But the House supported the president and passed a bill regulating the deposit in the state banks. The Congress of 1835 passed an act pursuing the president's policy in regard to the bank, authorizing and regulating the deposit of public funds in state banks, and permitting the secretary of the treasury to sell the government's stock in the national bank, thereby ending all national connection with it. The charter expired in 1836 and it was not renewed.

436. Tariff Development.— From an early day the amount of duty to be laid and the choice of imports to be taxed have





JOHN C. CALHOUN.

formed important questions of legislation and have divided political parties. The first tariff act, passed during Washington's administration (§ 352), was primarily for the purpose of raising a revenue for the expenses of our government and for paying our debts. The people of new England favored a low tariff because they were chiefly engaged in commerce, and the lower the tax on imports the larger would be the volume of trade. The southern cotton-growing states also favored a low tariff. The destruction of our foreign commerce during the war of 1812 caused us to manufacture many articles formerly bought of other countries. But we were not able to manufacture many things as cheaply as they could be imported. In 1816, Congress was asked to raise the tax on imports so that the price on certain articles would be increased to such a degree that our own people could afford to manufacture them.¹ A bill having this object was passed — chiefly by the Republicans. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, led in supporting it. The Federalists and the New Englanders, led by Daniel Webster, opposed it.

New England, lacking a fertile soil and a mild climate, could not compete with other sections in agricultural productions; but as it possessed water and fuel in abundance it gradually developed into a great manufacturing region. With this change of occupation there was a gradual change of opinion as to the value of a high or protective tariff. A manufacturing region is, of course, directly benefited by a high tariff, as the price of manufactured articles is increased thereby. On the other hand, many people in the South who had formerly supported a high tariff had come to see that agriculture must be their chief occupation, and that their interest lay in keeping down the price of manufactured articles that they must buy. In 1824 the vote for a bill raising the tariff

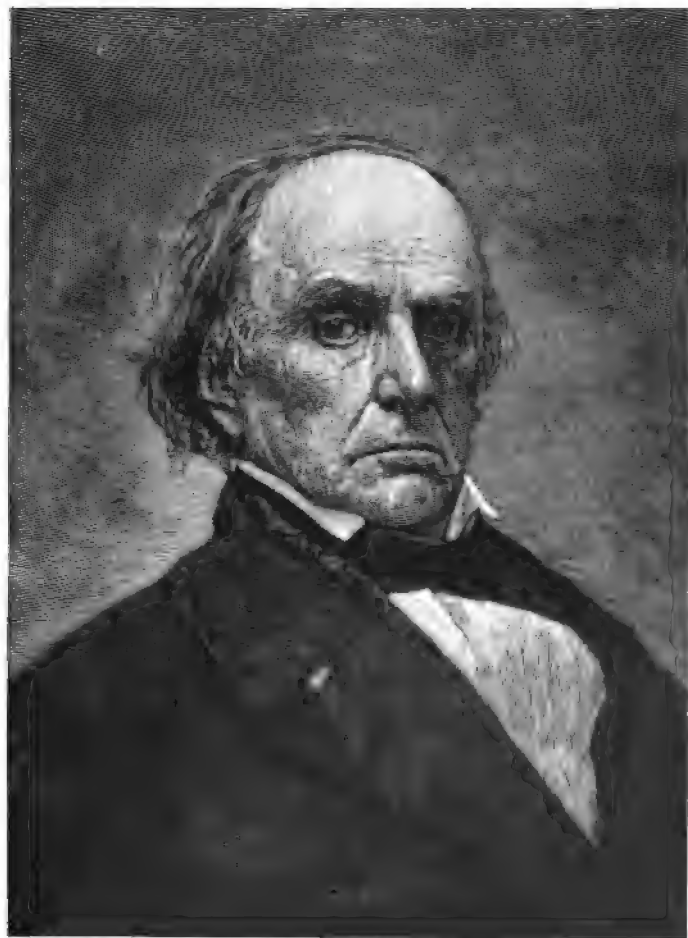
¹ This kind of tariff is called "protective," because it protects the home manufacturer from foreign competition.

showed an increasing sentiment in favor of it in New England and a decreasing sentiment in South Carolina and the adjoining region. Its chief strength came from central and western states. It was opposed by Webster and many New Englanders and by the people of the Southern states. The bill was passed.

In 1828, a bill was offered, providing still higher protection than the bill of 1824. Webster was one of its chief advocates.¹ New England was strongly in favor of it. Calhoun and the people of his state were bitterly opposed to it. The people of the cotton-growing states were opposed to it. There was an angry contest in Congress and much excitement in the country. The bill was passed.

437. Nullification. — Early in Jackson's administration, this tariff controversy led to one of the most famous debates (in 1830) ever held in the Senate. Senator Hayne, of South Carolina, advanced the views that the national government had no power to lay high protective tariffs, and that the states might justly and constitutionally refuse to pay them; that it lay within the province of a state's power to "nullify" or set aside an act of Congress. Daniel Webster, senator from Massachusetts, replied to this speech, and in advocating the power of the Federal government, and pleading for the preservation of the Union, made a speech that is one of the world's great masterpieces of eloquence. Two years later, a new tariff bill (raising some duties against which the South had protested, though the sum of the duties was somewhat lowered) was introduced in Congress and led to a fierce and prolonged controversy. The bill was brought forward under the advice and management of Henry Clay. The plan he advocated was called the "American System" — a policy of high tariff and internal improve-

¹ Daniel Webster at first advocated free trade, as that was the policy favored by his Massachusetts constituency; but he afterwards became a protectionist when Massachusetts became a manufacturing state.



DANIEL WEBSTER.

ments. It was violently opposed by the whole South Carolina delegation, led by Senator Hayne and Vice-President Calhoun. The bill — which had been carefully framed to aid all the manufacturing sections of the country — when it came to a vote (July, 1832) passed by a large majority. In the November following, South Carolina held a state convention called by the state Legislature, and presided over by the governor, which declared the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 null and void and not enforceable after the 1st of February, 1833. The Legislature immediately passed the laws necessary to carry out the wishes of the convention in resisting the collection of duties in the ports of South Carolina. President Jackson took prompt and decided steps to enforce the law. He sent an officer and a sloop-of-war to Charleston to protect the custom officers in the collection of duties. He posted troops on the border where they would be at ready command in an emergency. In December, he issued a proclamation to the people of the state, upholding the right and the power of the Federal government, and admonishing the citizens against resistance. At the same time, in his message to Congress, again in session, he proposed a reduction of the tariff that had caused the trouble. Further war-like preparations were made on both sides; but in the end there was a peaceful adjustment. Calhoun, having resigned the vice-presidency, appeared in Congress as a senator from South Carolina, filling a vacancy caused by the resignation of Senator Hayne, and he and Webster held another debate on the rights and prerogatives of the Federal government in relation to the rights and prerogatives of the states, that was as famous as the previous one on the same subject. But a compromise tariff bill, advocated by Clay, lowering many duties in the line asked by the South, was passed by Congress late in February. This satisfied South Carolina. The Nullification Ordinance was at once repealed by another state convention, and all active opposition to the tariff regulations ceased.

438. Indian Uprisings. — The Sac and the Fox Indians, living in Wisconsin, agreed to remove to territory set apart for them in Iowa. Part of the tribe made the change peaceably; but the chief, Black Hawk, and some of his followers were removed by force. From the Iowa territory frequent raids were made into the surrounding region, and for years the settlers of the vicinity lived in fear of attack.

Some of the Seminole tribe were yet living in Florida. An attempt was made to remove them beyond the Mississippi. The tribe rose in revolt, and massacred a band of one hundred men, killing all but four. General Taylor marched against the Indians, pursued them into the everglades of Florida, and defeated them in a hard-fought battle. They were not entirely subdued till 1842, seven years from their first outbreak. Much money was spent and many lives were lost in the contests.

439. The Abolition Crusade: the Pioneers. — Though all sections in the United States practiced slavery in the beginning, there were men here and there who thought it an evil. Some of our greatest statesmen, Southern as well as Northern, did not hesitate to declare publicly their condemnation of it. Many states had, before this time, passed laws to abolish slavery either immediately or gradually. Societies had been formed to colonize freed slaves out of the country. But the first man to devote his life to an effort to free the slaves was Benjamin Lundy, a Quaker of New Jersey. He founded (1821) and published for several years in different parts of our country — Ohio, Tennessee, Maryland, and other states — a journal called *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*. The editor also labored to form emancipation societies and spoke on the subject when he could get audiences. His crusade was one of argument and persuasion, and he addressed his appeal to the humane and kindly feelings of the white people. At Boston, he met and made a convert of William Lloyd Garrison.

For a short time, Garrison aided Lundy in the publication of *The Genius*; but in 1831, he began printing in Boston an abolition paper of his own called *The Liberator*. Garrison condemned slavery in a violent way that provoked much bitter feeling. He would not consent to the purchase of the slaves nor to their gradual emancipation. He said slavery was a crime and the slave-holder a criminal. He demanded the immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery.

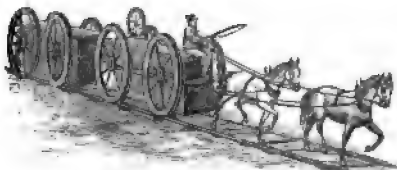
440. The Opinions. — Extremists at the South believed slavery to be profitable and right and were willing, if need be, to leave the Union in order to preserve it. Conservative people, both North and South, believed that it had been recognized in the formation of the Union and in the making of the Constitution, and that efforts to abolish it violated the good faith of the compact of the states. Individuals, here and there, of this conservative majority condemned slavery on abstract grounds and wished that some just means of abolition could be devised; but they could see none, and so strongly censured the methods of such men as Garrison. Abolitionists asserted that the "Constitution was a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," and were anxious that the slave-holding states should be cast out of the Union. These were the most distinct opinions: on such a perplexing question there were many opinions varying on minor principles.

441. The Condition of the Crusade. — Under Garrison's influence, many societies were formed in the Northern states for the purpose of urging the abolition of slavery. Every possible means of agitation was used, speeches were made, articles written for the newspapers, candidates of abolition tendencies put forward, Congress petitioned, and incendiary circulars sent through the mails to all parts of the South. The slaves began to feel the influence of the agitation. In Virginia, in 1831 (the

same year that *The Liberator* first saw the light), there was a negro uprising which resulted in the massacre of sixty white people. Other uprisings were threatened; and in many quarters slaves became excited and rebellious. The Southern people had grown very sensitive on this subject. They wanted to take extreme measures for the suppression of the abolition agitation. Garrison, while editing *The Genius*, in Baltimore, was arrested, fined, and put in jail. Georgia offered five thousand dollars reward for the arrest of any one found circulating *The Liberator* in the state. Packages of incendiary pamphlets were taken from the mails and, together with effigies of leading abolition agitators, publicly burned. But the great mass of the people were for preserving the Union as it stood, and were in favor of suppressing in a lawful way all disorganizing violence, whether North or South. By a vote nearly unanimous the Senate refused (1836) to grant a petition to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. The House, later in the same year, declared that: (1) Congress had no constitutional authority to interfere with the institution of slavery in any state; (2) that Congress ought not to interfere with slavery in the District of Columbia; and by a vote of more than two-thirds of the members, passed a resolution that it would not consider in any way a petition, memorial, resolution, or proposition in regard to slavery. So, although the abolition agitators had created much excitement, it was apparent that a great majority of the people were opposed to the agitation and the strife it engendered.

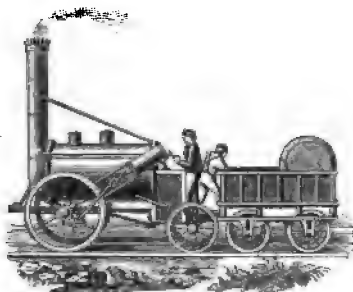
442. Railways.— Railways were first used in England for the purpose of transporting mineral ore from mines to some convenient shipping point. The cars on these first railways were drawn by horses. The first railway built in this country (1826) extended from Quincy, Mass., to the Neponset River, a distance of five miles, and was for the purpose of transporting granite from the quarry to a shipping point. The cars were

drawn by horses. A few other railways for similar purposes and operated in the same way were built in the country. Several unsuccessful efforts were made in England to construct steam-engines that would draw the cars. A like experiment was made with a steam-engine in Pennsylvania in 1829. George Stephenson, an English engineer, was the



First American Railway (the "Granite Road").

first to make a really successful locomotive. This locomotive was tried in America in 1831. But Americans immediately began the manufacture of locomotives from their own patterns¹



Stephenson's Locomotive (the "Rocket").

that were better adapted to the needs of our country. With the success of locomotives, railroad building developed very rapidly. Before the close of Jackson's administration, there were fifteen hundred miles of railway in the United States. Railways were just what was needed for the development of our country.

They were seized upon immediately and we have never ceased building them. The United States now have nearly as many miles of railway as are to be found in the remainder of the world.

443. The Whig Party.— The president soon had several classes of people opposed to him. Those who supported the bank, those who favored a high protective tariff, those who be-

¹ The first successful American locomotive, called the "Arabian," was built in 1833. It was still running in 1883, but during this year was destroyed by fire.

lieved in state sovereignty,¹ and the nullifiers could unite in opposition to Jackson. These factions began to call themselves Whigs, though they did not at this time form a close party organization. Clay, who had been the leader of the National Republicans, was now the leader of the Whig party, the Republican party's successor. The name "Whig" was selected (1834) because that was the name of the English party that had resisted the tyranny of King George III., and this American party meant to resist what they called the tyranny of Jackson. However, the Whigs were united on nothing but opposition to Jackson. Different factions of the party put forward different candidates for the presidency. The Democratic party put forward but one candidate, Van Buren, and gained an easy victory.

444. Summary.—The president made the custom of removing political enemies from office and appointing political friends, conspicuous. He waged a long contest against the national bank. The bank's charter expired in 1836 and was not renewed. The national funds were placed in state banks. Parties were divided on the tariff tax. Those who believed in "protecting" home manufactures introduced a bill laying higher duties on imports. This bill was bitterly opposed in the South. After the bill was passed by Congress, South Carolina held a convention and "nullified" the act. The president sent a sloop-of-war and troops to Charleston to enforce the collection of duties. In its next session, Congress modified the law so that it was not so objectionable to the South. South Carolina repealed her Nullification Ordinance. This administration marks the rapid rise of the abolition crusade. Papers and pamphlets were published, societies were formed, and orators spoke in opposition to slavery. Congress refused to pass any anti-slavery laws or to interfere in any way. Locomotives came into use on railways and revolutionized the methods of civilization. The Whig party was formed as a successor to the National Republican party.

¹ It was the doctrine of a large party in the South, that the Union was simply a compact between the states; that any state could withdraw from this compact and leave the Union at its own pleasure; that the state was supreme and not the general government. This was the doctrine of State Sovereignty.

445. Thought Questions. — What can be said in favor of permitting the president to fill the offices, under his administration, with his friends and adherents? To what evils may this practice lead? Are United States funds deposited in national banks to-day? Debate: Resolved that a protective tariff is best for the United States. Give two instances in our history where, through self-interest, a section has changed or modified its political beliefs. Compare the effects of the Alien and Sedition Laws with those of the Tariff Act of 1832. What do you consider the most important event of this administration?

VAN BUREN'S ADMINISTRATION.

One Term : 1837-1841.

446. Services and Character of the New President. — Martin Van Buren was born in New York in 1782. He early evinced an ambition and a capacity for public service. For most of his life, he was the chief factor in the politics of his state. After a short service as state senator, he was elected to the United States Senate. He was afterwards governor of New York. He espoused Jackson's candidacy for the presidency, and through his influence, New York cast her deciding vote for the



Martin Van Buren.

old warrior. He was appointed secretary of state by President Jackson and resigned the governorship to accept it. He resigned the secretaryship after two years' service, and

shortly afterward was appointed minister to England. He was elected vice-president for Jackson's second term, and succeeded his friend to the presidency. He was an adept in practical politics, being expert in the organization and management of parties. The importance of New York's voice in national councils made Van Buren, who was the sovereign state's spokesman, a national figure, and put him on the road to the highest preferment. But he proved himself a statesman as well as a politician, and while president, he performed the duties of his high station with wisdom and courage.

447. The Financial Panic. — The period preceding and embracing Jackson's administration had been one of great prosperity. Roads and canals were being built in all parts of the country. There was also much railway building. Such enterprises require large sums of money. The rapid material development of the country gave a headlong impulse to speculation and trade. Farms multiplied, cities sprang up, banks were everywhere. Every one seemed to be striving to grow rich and to be succeeding in the effort. But the easy success led to over-confidence, to recklessness, and to ruin. Speculation ran wild; people borrowed too much; the banks loaned too willingly. And Jackson's policy in removing the national funds from the United States Bank and putting them in numerous state banks which were not always able to manage them wisely, unsettled financial relations and hastened the panic which ensued. The government lost large sums of money through the failure of some of the state banks. The banks of New York suspended in a body, and numbers of banks in other parts of the Union followed. Business failures were numerous, trade stopped, factories shut down, enterprises were abandoned.

448. The Sub-Treasury. — The president called an extra session of Congress and in his message to the body proposed a

new treasury plan. He advocated the government's use of specie¹ only in its transactions. He thought it best to cut away from banks altogether and urged the building of government vaults for the safe keeping and handling of government funds by the government's own officers. A bill embodying the president's plans finally passed, in 1840, and was the beginning of our present modified, developed system. Vaults and safes were supplied in the treasury building at Washington, and in six of the principal cities of the Union "sub-treasuries" were established for government deposits and with government officers to receive and disburse funds.

449. Slavery.—The abolition agitation at the North continued and began to be of national importance. It was estimated that abolition societies contained, in 1837, one hundred and fifty thousand members. New abolition papers were established and some of the Northern states made new laws that reflected the new ideas of the emancipation crusade. Elijah Lovejoy, editor of an emancipation sheet at Alton, Illinois, while defending his press from destruction was killed by the mob. The Abolitionists used the incident for political purposes. Wendell Phillips made his first great speech in behalf of the cause to which he afterward devoted his wonderful oratorical talents, in discussing the Lovejoy matter in a public meeting in Boston.² Feeling at the North was divided, and the extreme wing of the Abolitionists was as bitterly condemned by the majority of its own section as by the Southern people. Congress again refused to receive the numerous eman-

¹ Specie means coin of silver or gold. Paper money is only the government's promissory note to pay in specie.

² Phillips was a man of culture and independent character. He joined the extreme wing of the Abolition party that clamored for disunion. He refused to take the oath to support the Constitution of his country. He was afterwards a champion of the temperance movement, of the labor agitation, of the woman's rights crusade. He devoted his whole life to the advocacy of reforms of one kind or another.

cipation petitions that came pouring in. Southern people became more and more restless under the continued and violent agitation of the Abolitionists. When a Northern member of Congress made a bitter abolition speech in the House, Southern members rose in a body to leave the hall.¹

450. Scientific Progress. — This period of four years saw the beginning of some things that greatly aided and some that revolutionized the methods of civilized society: Morse patented his magnetic telegraph; steam vessels began to make regular and quick trips across the Atlantic; James Smithson left a fortune for founding a scientific institution in our country; Daguerre's sun-pictures began to be known and to lead the way to modern photography; bold explorers sought to satisfy an enlightened curiosity by voyages to the regions of the north and of the south poles.

451. Summary. — Speculation led to a financial panic that caused business failures all over the country. Public enterprises were abandoned and trade became stagnant. The president called an extra session of Congress and proposed a new plan for handling the public funds. We were to guard and control our own money in vaults in the treasury building in Washington and in sub-treasuries in different parts of the country. Congress approved the plan. Many people joined the anti-slavery crusade. However, the majority of the people, North and South, condemned the abolition agitation. This was a period of scientific advancement: the telegraph was patented, a bequest was received for founding a scientific institution, daguerreotypes began to be noticed.

452. Thought Questions. — Give two reasons for Van Buren's failure to be reelected. What do you consider the most important event of this administration? Why?

¹ "Slade, of Vermont, in a two hours' speech, raked the institution with a merciless severity such as that body had never experienced before." — *Schouler*. Wise, of Virginia, rose to his feet and called on his colleagues to leave the hall. But Slade was ruled out of order, and the body, amid much confusion, quickly adjourned.

HARRISON AND TYLER'S ADMINISTRATION.

One Term: 1841-1845.

453. Harrison's Death. — William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, the hero of Tippecanoe, and a veteran of the War of 1812, was put forward by the Whigs¹ for the presidency. The party supported him with the greatest enthusiasm. The most was made of his quiet and modest way of living. He was called the "Log-Cabin Candidate," and a miniature log-cabin, with a barrel of cider at the door, was a part of every popular demonstration in his support. Speakers stirred the pulse of the people with glowing accounts of his gallant military services in the early days.² He was triumphantly elected. But the old general was already in feeble health and the excitement of the campaign and the pressure of affairs at the beginning of the administration proved to be too much for his shattered strength to endure. He died April 4, after having been president but a month.³



William Henry Harrison.

454. Services and Character of John Tyler. — John Tyler, the vice-president, succeeded to the presidency. He was

¹ The National Republicans began to be called Whigs during Jackson's presidency. Clay was the leader — for a number of years, the dictator — of this party.

² The campaign cry was "Tippecanoe and Tyler too." See § 386 for an account of the battle of Tippecanoe.

³ William Henry Harrison was born in Virginia in 1773. He had been governor of Indiana Territory twelve years. He was living in Ohio at the time of his election to the presidency.

born in 1790, and was the son of a distinguished Virginia family. He had but to show ordinary ability to be sure of political preferment; but he was possessed of much more than average ability. He became a member of the Virginia Legislature at twenty-one and was reelected several times. He was elected to Congress when he was but twenty-six and served two terms. In 1825, he was elected governor of his state and



John Tyler.

was reelected on the expiration of his first term. But before the expiration of his second term, he was elected to the United States Senate. He sat in the Senate nine years, resigning in 1836, because he was not willing to vote to expunge the resolution of censure on President Jackson as the Legislature of his state had instructed him to do. In 1835, he was put forward by some of the Democratic states as a candidate for

the vice-presidency, but was defeated. He was nominated for the same position on the Whig ticket, with Harrison for the head of the ticket, in 1839, and this time he was elected.

He was a man of brilliant talents, and of independent character. His acceptance of the nomination on the Whig ticket, and his succession to the presidency because of his nomination, placed him in a false position, as most of his political career had been spent in the ardent advocacy of the principles of the Democratic party.

455. The Bank Bills. — Congress, after the sweeping Whig victory, hastened to repeal the sub-treasury law enacted during

the last administration. This left the government without any system of protecting and managing its funds ; but it was the purpose of Congress to provide some plan at once. Trouble arose over the selection of a system. Henry Clay, who was by common consent the leader of the party, fell back on the national bank plan and proposed to create a new bank patterned after the old United States Bank of Philadelphia. His bill, creating this bank, passed both houses ; but the president sent it back with his veto. A second bill, changed to meet the president's wishes or to force his approval, favored by Clay and the Whig following, was passed. This bill was also vetoed. The party, with Clay at its head, had made the creation of a new bank part of its policy, and there was so much indignation felt at the president's course that all of his cabinet, except Daniel Webster, secretary of state, resigned their places. A plan proposed by the president did not get the support of Congress, and throughout his administration the control and preservation of the funds depended upon his own judgment. His management was unusually careful and cautious and was very successful.

456. The Ashburton Treaty.— Recently there had been many collisions between American citizens and British subjects on the Canadian borders and on the high seas. In the eyes of many, our grievances had grown to such an extent that a high-spirited nation must, to preserve its dignity, insist upon apology and redress. War with Great Britain was again threatening, and indeed imminent. After many attempts to adjust the difficulties between the two countries had failed, England sent Lord Ashburton to Washington to treat with our secretary of state in settlement of disputed points. An agreement was reached on the most pressing matters in controversy. The forty-ninth parallel was decided upon as a line of boundary between the United States and Canada, from the Great Lakes to

the Rocky Mountains; and the two countries entered into an agreement to return criminals escaped from one country to the other and to suppress the slave trade on the seas.

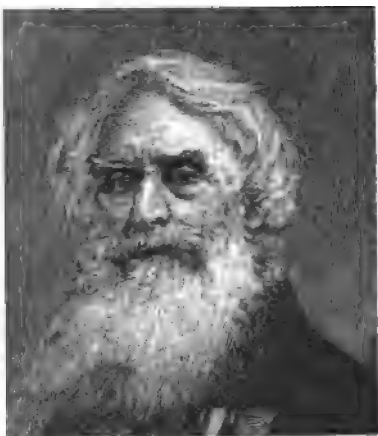
457. Tariff Legislation.— The compromise tariff bill of 1833 had been framed to provide for a reduction of the rate of duty year by year. In 1842, the expenditures of the government exceeded the income. The Whigs thought that the remedy for the deficit lay in a higher tariff, and accordingly a bill raising the rate was enacted.

458. The Dorr Rebellion.— In its state government, Rhode Island still followed the charter granted it by Charles II. of England. This charter granted the right to vote only to owners of real estate and their eldest sons. The result was a limited and very unequal representation. As universal suffrage was the method in every other state, there was much discontent felt here. Petitions and remonstrances proving useless, a new constitution was formed and Thomas W. Dorr was elected governor (1842) by a popular vote, most of the votes, according to the charter, being illegal. The charter or legal voters also elected a governor and contested the legality of the new constitution and of Dorr's election. Both sides took up arms. Dorr was arrested and tried for treason and sentenced to imprisonment for life. But the next year legal voters and delegates elected by those who had no right to vote, met by common consent in the same convention, and framed a new constitution which removed most of the restrictions complained of. Dorr, after a short imprisonment, was pardoned.

459. The Mormons.— John Smith, a native of New York, produced a book which, he said, was a revelation from God. Mormon was represented as the author of the book, and the agent of the divine revelation. With this book, Smith founded a new religious sect. The people who adopted the faith were

called Mormons. The Mormons founded a settlement at Nauvoo, Illinois. One of their doctrines was that a man might have several wives at the same time. Their faith and practices were severely condemned by the people around them. Indignation rose to such a pitch that in a riot Smith was killed (1844). Under the leadership of Brigham Young, the Mormons emigrated to the desert region near Salt Lake in Utah. By bringing the water from the mountains to their barren territory they made it productive, and the Mormons were soon among the most prosperous people in the country. Salt Lake City became a rich and beautiful city.

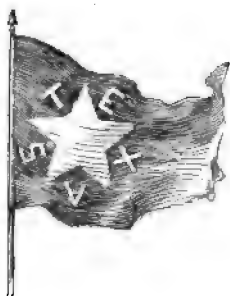
460. The Telegraph.— Professor Morse had already secured a patent for his invention, the magnetic telegraph, but he was not able to build telegraph lines to test his instrument properly. Aid was asked of Congress. After years of waiting, \$30,000 was appropriated to build a line between Washington and Baltimore, a distance of forty miles. The line was completed in 1844, and the message, "What hath God wrought?" was sent from Washington to Baltimore by Professor Morse in the presence of many distinguished people. There are now thousands of miles of telegraph lines, connecting, in instant communication, cities and hamlets all over the world.



Professor Morse.

461. Extension of Territory: The Annexation of Texas.— The vast stretch of the continent bordering on the Pacific

Ocean and the Rio Grande, formerly held by Spain, now belonged to Mexico, that nation having thrown off the Spanish yoke. This territory included what is now Texas, New



The "Lone Star" Flag.

Mexico, Arizona, California, Nevada, Utah, and part of Colorado. Piece by piece, in one way or another, it all came into the possession of the United States. Texas¹ was our first acquisition from it.

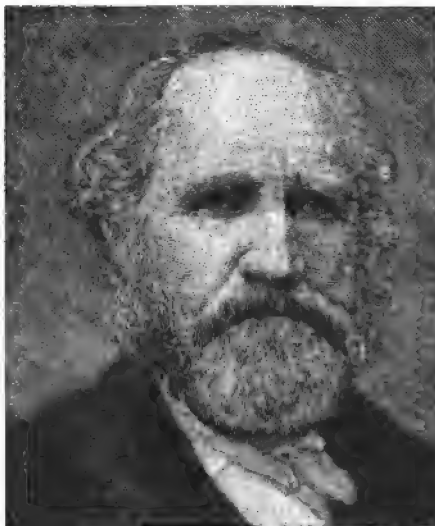
Mexico, in an effort to people Texas, had offered grants of land to immigrants. Some Southern states formed Texas colonies. In the course of a few years, settlers from the United States were more numerous in Texas than Mexicans. These

pioneers in the wilderness carried with them the love of freedom and the notions of government they had imbibed in our own country. Before long, they were in revolt against the arbitrary and imperious government of Mexico. The Texans were hardy, liberty-loving settlers, but they were poorly armed and without military training. The Mexican army was composed of regular soldiers, and with the parent state to sustain it with supplies and reënforcements. The Texans fought for what they conceived to be their right; the Mexicans to retain their possessions. The moral advantage was on the side of the settlers and they won in the struggle. The Mexican yoke was thrown off and Texas' independence was declared (March 2, 1836).²

¹ By virtue of Louisiana purchase we claimed Texas through the years 1803-1819. See §§ 375, 415.

² The two most important actions of the Texas Revolution were the siege of the Alamo and the battle of San Jacinto. One hundred and forty-four Texans taking refuge in the Alamo in San Antonio, an old Spanish building combining a church and a fort, were besieged by a force of four thousand Mexicans. A small relief party of thirty-two Texans made their way to the inside of the fort. After eleven days of resistance the fort was taken by storm and every Texan killed (March, 1836). At

But Mexico did not acknowledge the independence of Texas, and made unsuccessful efforts afterward to conquer the state. The Texans set up a republican government modeled after that of the United States. The United States and England and France acknowledged her independence. But it was the desire of the Texans to be annexed to the United States, and advances looking toward this union had been made in Jackson's, Van Buren's, and Tyler's administrations. The United States, however, hung back; so long as Mexico regarded Texas as



Sam Houston.

only a revolted province, yet to be brought back to allegiance, any interference on the part of our country could but bring on a war with Mexico. But additions to the population of Texas from the United States continued, and the feeling in favor of annexation grew stronger. President Tyler was in favor of annexation and encouraged the Texans to urge their propositions. Finally, the question became a national issue. Against the project, it was urged that Texas would add a vast

San Jacinto (near the present city of Houston) General Sam Houston, with seven hundred Texans, routed the Mexican army of 1500 (April 21, 1836). Santa Anna, the President of Mexico, was taken prisoner and a treaty of peace was effected. During the nine years of her existence as an independent republic, Texas had the following presidents: (1) David G. Burnet (provisional); (2) Sam Houston; (3) M. B. Lamar; (4) Sam Houston; (5) Anson Jones.

territory to the slave section of our country ; that we would involve ourselves in a war with Mexico by annexing her revolted province ; and that we had no moral right to Texas until Mexico renounced her claims. On the other hand, it was held that the balance between the free and the slave territory ought to be preserved by this annexation ; that the union would give us a vast fertile tract to add to our domain ;¹ and that Texas had fairly earned her independence, which independence Mexico never would formally recognize if left to herself. The objec-



The Alamo, San Antonio.

tions came chiefly from the North. The Southern people were in favor of annexation. Polk, the candidate put forward for the presidency by the Democrats, was in favor of annexation. Clay, the Whig candidate, was opposed to it. Polk was elected and his success was due largely to his position on this matter. As soon as the result of the election was known, a bill annexing Texas was brought up in Congress, was passed, and was signed by President Tyler just three days before the expiration of his term.

¹ Texas contains more than 262,000 square miles of territory. It is larger than all the New England and Middle Atlantic States together. Daniel Webster said it was so large a bird could not fly over it in a week.

462. Florida and Iowa Admitted. — During the last year of this administration, Congress admitted Florida and Iowa to the Union as states: but Iowa did not comply with the terms and become a state till a year later.

463. Summary. — President Harrison died after having served but a month, and John Tyler, vice-president, became president. The sub-treasury bill of Van Buren's administration was repealed. The Whig party, which had elected Tyler, passed bills through Congress establishing a new national bank. The president vetoed the bills. Congress would not adopt the plan proposed by the president. The funds were governed only by the president's judgment and care. The Ashburton Treaty settled the northern boundary of the United States as far west as the Rocky Mountains. The forty-ninth parallel was made the dividing line. The tariff rate was raised. The Dorr Rebellion in Rhode Island grew out of the desire of the people for universal suffrage. The old charter was set aside and suffrage was granted as in other states. A telegraph line was built between Washington and Baltimore and the first message was sent in 1844. Texas, a Mexican province, had been colonized from our Southern states. The colonists revolted in 1836, and gained their independence. The people of Texas wished to annex their republic to the United States. In the presidential election, Polk, who was in favor of annexation, defeated Clay, who was opposed to it. Texas was annexed three days before Tyler's term expired. Florida and Iowa were admitted during the last year (1845), but Iowa did not enter till one year later.

464. Thought Questions. — Contrast Tyler's popularity before and after his inauguration as president. Account for the change. Mention the important tariff bills passed in the last three administrations. How did the acquisition of Texas differ from the previous acquisitions of territory? What European first travelled through Texas? By whom was the first attempt at settlement made? By what different nations has Texas been claimed? What do you consider the most important event in this administration?

POLK'S ADMINISTRATION.

One Term: 1845-1849.

465. Services and Character of the New President.—

James K. Polk was born in North Carolina, in 1795, and lived to the age of fifty-four; through most of his life, his home was in Tennessee, to which state the family had removed in his boyhood. He became a member of the Tennessee Legislature



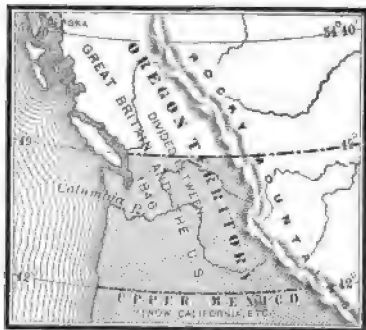
James K. Polk.

at the age of 28. He was a friend of Andrew Jackson, and assisted in electing this illustrious Tennessean to the United States Senate. He became a congressman, and had fourteen years' consecutive service. He was twice elected speaker of the House. After retiring from Congress, he was elected governor of his state. He had not been publicly announced as a candidate for

the presidency when the Democratic convention met in 1844; but none of the prominent candidates could secure the necessary two-thirds vote, so Mr. Polk was put forward by his friends as a compromise candidate and was nominated. Polk was a man of ability, careful and painstaking in investigation, prompt and decided in execution. In his inaugural, he named four measures which he wished to signalize his administration.¹ He accomplished all of them.

¹ "There are four great measures which are to be the measures of my administration: One, a reduction of the tariff; another, the independent treasury; a third, the settlement of the Oregon boundary question, and lastly, the acquisition of California."—*Schouler's History of the United States*, Vol. IV, p. 498.

466. The Oregon Boundary.—The convention which nominated Polk proclaimed as one of the policies of the party the “re-occupation of Oregon.” The northwestern boundary of the United States had never been determined.¹ The United States insisted that the line should run at $54^{\circ} 40'$ north latitude, the southern extremity of Alaska, while Great Britain contended that the Columbia River, in latitude 46° , was the proper boundary. There had already been much discussion of the matter; during Polk’s administration negotiations were again begun, which were finally concluded by an agreement that the parallel of 49° should mark the boundary of the United States on the west side of the mountains as it did on the east side (§ 456). These negotiations bring to mind the history of Oregon—a history instructive in the methods of Western exploration and settlement.



467. The Oregon Trail.—In 1791, Robert Gray, commanding a trading-vessel fitted out by some enterprising merchants of Boston, discovered the mouth of a river on our western coast and sailed up its course fourteen miles. He named the river “Columbia,” which was the name of the ship he commanded.² During the last months of 1805, Lewis and Clarke (§ 376) explored the Columbia from its sources in the mountains

¹ A treaty made in 1818 between Great Britain and the United States provided for the joint occupation by the two powers of the region between the Russian territory of Alaska and the Spanish territory of California.

² The owners of the *Columbia* intended that she should visit our western coast, buy a cargo of furs from the Indians and traders, then sail across to China and exchange the furs for tea and return to Boston. After an absence of three years, the *Columbia* returned to Boston having made the voyage as planned.

to its mouth in the Pacific. In 1808, the Missouri Fur Company of St. Louis was organized for the purpose of opening up trade with this Columbia River region. An agent sent into this country established a trading post, Fort Henry, on the Lewis River. Mr. John Jacob Astor, a rich merchant of New York City, became interested in this Northwestern territory and put in operation a liberal plan for establishing trading posts on the



Astoria in 1813.

Columbia. In 1810, he sent a company of men around by Cape Horn to the mouth of the river and another company from St. Louis, overland, to unite with the first. The two companies, uniting in 1812, formed a settlement which, in honor of the patron of the undertaking, they called Astoria.¹ A third company sent out from New York on shipboard reached Astoria in the latter part of the same year (1812). But the English coveted this same region and expeditions from Canada sought to occupy the country. A bitter competition sprang up between the settlers from the United States and those from Canada. When the

¹ See Irving's "Astoria."

news of the War of 1812 reached this remote region, the officers of the Astor company sold their interests to the English company and retired from the field. After peace was declared, though there was no organized movement, an unnoticed immigration of adventurous trappers and settlers to the Oregon region began and continued for years; so that gradually trading from this region was resumed and settlement of it proceeded.¹ In 1835, Marcus Whitman went with a small party of missionaries to the Columbia region. In the next year, Whitman went through to Fort Boisé, on the Lewis River, in a wagon, demonstrating the possibility of wagon-train emigration to the Oregon country. In 1840, the settlers in Oregon numbered about one hundred and fifty.² The agents of the English fur companies did everything in their power to prevent the settlement of the region from the United States. But finding that settlement continued nevertheless, they determined to meet settlement from the United States with settlement from Canada. Arrangements were made to bring in a body of emigrants from Canada. Dr. Whitman, hearing of this proposed invasion, and knowing that the plan, if intelligently executed, would take Oregon from the United States, resolved to save the region for which he had done so much. On horseback, he returned to St. Louis and then proceeded to Washington. The Ashburton treaty (\$ 456) had just been concluded and the boundary of Oregon was still left open. Dr. Whitman made up a train of two hundred wagons and led it to Oregon. When Polk became president in 1845, our people had such a hold on this region that the cry was "fifty-four forty or fight." The final settlement of the boundary at 49° threw the Columbia River well within our territory.

¹ In 1832, Captain Bonneville led a wagon train across the Wind River Mountains into the Green River Valley. See Irving's "Captain Bonneville." In the same year, Nathaniel J. Wyeth led a party from New England to Fort Vancouver. Wyeth afterward led a second and larger expedition to the same region and began settlement in the Willamette Valley. See "Nathaniel J. Wyeth and the Struggle for Oregon" in *Harper's Magazine* for November, 1892.

² Drake, "The Making of the Great West."

WAR WITH MEXICO.

- 468. The Annexation of Texas: the Beginning of the War with Mexico.**— On June 23, 1845, Texas accepted the terms of admission fixed by the national Congress the previous March, and became one of the states. The Texans claimed the Rio Grande as the western boundary of their new state, while the Mexicans insisted that the Nueces River was the northeastern boundary of Mexico. The strip between the two rivers was about a hundred miles across and contained some valuable territory. The United States upheld Texas in claiming the Rio Grande boundary and prepared to help maintain it. General Zachary Taylor, with a force of about five thousand men, was directed to occupy and hold the disputed territory. He established a *dépôt* of supplies at Point Isabel, on the Gulf, and then, with a part of his men, marched a few miles up the Texas side of the Rio Grande and built Fort Brown opposite Matamoras. Detachments from the Mexican army, concentrated at Matamoras, crossed the Rio Grande both above and below Fort Brown. On April 23, 1846, the detachment above the fort fell in with a company of our troops, killed and wounded sixteen of our countrymen, and captured the remainder of the party. The message which the president sent to Congress on May 11, 1846, stated that: "War exists, and notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it, exists by the act of Mexico herself." Congress at once declared war, and voted money and called for volunteers to carry on the campaign.

- 469. The First Battles: Palo Alto; Resaca de la Palma.**— Taylor prepared to strengthen his position at Fort Brown. Fearing that the Mexicans would cut him off from Point Isabel, his base of supplies, he fell back with the body of his troops to strengthen the defenses of this *dépôt* on the Gulf. The Mexicans in Matamoras, having been witnesses of this movement to the rear, mistook its cause and sent a large force across the

river to capture Fort Brown, which had been left with a garrison of about three hundred men. Taylor completed his work as rapidly as possible and with a force of two thousand men began his return to Fort Brown. When he reached Palo Alto, near the fort, his forces found themselves suddenly confronted by six thousand Mexicans prepared to give battle. The engagement that followed was a victory for the Americans. The Mexicans fell back. The next day (May 9), at Resaca de la Palma, within three miles of Fort Brown, the Mexicans again intercepted the Americans and forced an engagement. The Mexican army was completely routed, and this time, in its retreat, did not stop till it was safely across the river and under the protection of the guns of Matamoras.



470. Invasion of Mexico: Capture of Monterey; Battle of Buena Vista.— A few days after these battles on Texas soil, General Taylor crossed the Rio Grande and captured Matamoras. He then pushed forward towards the interior of Mexico. He was delayed about four months waiting for reënforcements and necessary provisions. With an army of 6600 men, he began the siege, September 21, of the strongly fortified town of Monterey, which was defended by 12,000 Mexican troops. After three days of hard fighting, the town, with its military stores, was captured and the Mexicans were allowed to evacuate. The capture of Monterey was a great victory, because it was won against such odds both of numbers and position.

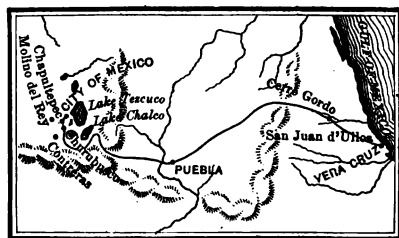
Taylor's next engagement was at Buena Vista. General Scott, who had been sent to Mexico as commander-in-chief of our forces, and who meant to push forward rapidly from the coast into the heart of the country, had detached most of

Taylor's troops to his own support in the coming campaign. Santa Anna, who was now the commander of the Mexican forces, had already gathered an army of 20,000 men for the purpose of attacking Taylor. Hearing, now, of the removal of the main part of Taylor's army to another part of the country to aid General Scott, this shrewd Mexican captain moved forward rapidly with the intention of annihilating the remnant of General Taylor's forces. The opposing armies (20,000 Mexicans, about 7500 Americans) met at a pass in the mountains near Buena Vista (February 27, 1847), and after a day's desperate fighting the Mexicans were defeated and driven from the field.

471. General Scott's Campaign.—As has been said, it was General Scott's purpose to march on to the heart of the enemy's country. But he had to begin at the coast: On the 9th of March, with his own troops and the reënforcements from Taylor's army (numbering 12,000 men in all) he began the

siege of Vera Cruz. The city surrendered on the 27th of the same month.

The army now began its march towards the capital. Santa Anna, with a large force, took up a position in the rocky pass of



Cerro Gordo, in the path of our army, prepared to resist its further progress. The Mexicans were routed from their position, three thousand of them were taken prisoners, and military stores sufficient to equip an army were captured (April 18, 1847). On the march forward there were many minor engagements. The Mexicans fortified every strong position along the route our army must take. But one by one these positions were carried, and the advanced Mexican troops were rapidly

forced back on the city. On September 14, 1847, the capital itself was taken and the American flag waved triumphantly over the city of the Montezumas.

The treaty which followed involved even more territory than that of Texas, and some account of the simultaneous movement of the West must be given.

472. The Acquisition of California.—“California was, in 1846, an outlying and neglected Mexican province.”¹ It was believed in the United States that England coveted this Mexican province. It is certain that the authorities of the United States hoped to annex it to our own country and were willing to aid in bringing about the thing they wished. Captain John C. Fremont, who had twice before led exploring expeditions across the Rocky Mountains, reached California with a third party, January, 1846. It was undoubtedly Captain Fremont’s purpose to do what he could towards acquiring California.² The tie between the province and the parent country was very weak; England, France, and our own country were jealously and covetously watching the course of events, anticipating dismemberment; as California was in the line of our national development, and as there were already many of our countrymen settled in the northern part, it was felt that we had the best chance and the best right. Captain Fremont con-

¹ Royce, “California.” Following this sentence, is an excellent description of California at that time: we take space to give a brief passage from it. “Its missions, once prosperous, had had their estates in large part secularized during the latter years, had fallen into decay, were now helpless and sometimes in ruins. The mission Indians had in large part disappeared. The Church was no longer a power. The white population was made up principally of Spanish and Mexican colonists, whose chief industry was raising cattle for the hides and tallow, and whose private lives were free, careless, and on the whole, as this world goes, moderately charming and innocent.”

² There had been much controversy as to the extent of Captain Fremont’s authority and instructions from the government; but there can be no doubt at all as to his own intention, which was to take the shortest possible road to the acquisition of the province.— See Royce and H. H. Bancroft.

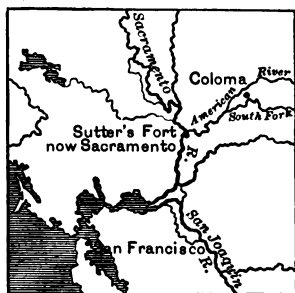
cerned himself only about the chance. Soon after the captain encamped in the vicinity of the American settlers in the Sutter's Fort region, they began to hear alarming rumors of a move-



Old Sutter's Fort.

ment on the part of the Mexican government to expel them from Californian territory. Anticipating this hostile movement against them, the settlers organized a force, marched over to the military post of Sonoma, cap-

tured it, sent some of its officers as prisoners to Sutter's Fort, raised a flag on which the figure of a bear had been rudely drawn with berry juice, and declared a free and independent republic (June 14, 1846). Captain Fremont at once became the leader of the Bear Flag Revolutionists. The towns and posts around Sonoma were taken almost without a struggle. But at this time, news of the United States' declaration of war against Mexico reached the western coast, and on July 7, Commodore Sloat, whose ships had been hovering along the coast, took possession of Monterey (a short distance below San Francisco) and raised the flag of the United States. Northern California, now under the control of Fremont, took down the Bear flag and raised the flag of the United States. The conquest of California was speedily and easily accomplished.



473. New Mexico Taken.— After war was declared against Mexico, General Kearney was sent with a force to make a conquest of New Mexico. He did not meet with much opposition.

On August 18, 1846, our flag was raised over Santa Fé, and New Mexico was declared annexed to the United States.

474. The Treaty.—The treaty which followed (in February, 1848) the fall of Mexico City gave us Texas, California, Utah, Arizona, and part of Colorado, nearly a million square miles of territory. In return, the United States agreed to pay Mexico \$15,000,000, and to pay claims of our citizens against Mexico, to the amount of \$3,250,000.

475. Gold in California.—There were many things—a fertile soil, a mild and equable climate, a commanding position upon the western coast—which made the United States wish for California. But between the time of its conquest and the signing of the treaty with Mexico—after we had forcibly taken California, but before Mexico had formally relinquished it—gold was discovered on the rivers, and it was soon apparent that California was a prize rich beyond our most sanguine expectations. In January, 1848, a workman in deepening a mill-race with a flood of water, saw washed upon the banks of the seething stream little shining particles that he thought might be gold. A quantity of the metal, tested in a rude way by Captain Sutter, the owner of the mill, bore the test so well that all doubts were dismissed. Though an attempt was made to keep the discovery a secret, it was revealed in some way and the news spread like wildfire. The first prospectors found gold in many other places in the same region. The native population abandoned all other pursuits for gold-digging; stores were locked up, shops were closed, fields were left half-plowed, crops remained unharvested. As the news spread, the population of the whole western coast, Indians, Chinese, Mexicans, and Americans, flocked to the scene of the discovery.

476. The Gold Fever of 1849.— It was not till late in 1848 that the news reached the eastern states. But when it did reach there, and when authentic reports from its California representatives were published by the government, excitement ran as high here as on the western coast. Great numbers of people began preparations to go to California in the spring. There were three routes from the East to this El Dorado of the West: one, the longest, around Cape Horn; another, to the Isthmus of Panama, across it, and up the western coast; the third, overland across the continent. Soon, along all these routes, there were streams of sanguine pilgrims, brave to dare any dangers in the search for the golden fleece. At the close of the year (1849), there were more than one hundred thousand people in California. San Francisco had grown — without railroads — from a village of two thousand people to a city of twenty thousand, and Sacramento from a group of four houses to a town of ten thousand inhabitants. Some of these adventurous pioneers, “forty-niners,” as they were called, won fabulous fortunes; many, modest ones; and the procession they began marched on for several years after this.

477. Summary.— The northern boundary of Oregon was fixed at the forty-ninth parallel. Texas and Mexico had a dispute over the western boundary of Texas. The United States sent troops to help maintain the claim of Texas. War followed (1846–1848). The Americans were victorious in all the battles and eventually captured the capital, Mexico City. The treaty which followed gave us a large western territory: Texas, California, Utah, Arizona, and part of Colorado. California and New Mexico were won by separate campaigns; John C. Fremont led the expedition to California, General Kearney that to New Mexico. Gold was discovered in California in 1848. Rapid emigration to the territory followed.

478. Thought Questions.— Name the men who did the most toward the acquisition of Oregon by the United States. How do you account for the failure of the Mexican troops to win a single battle in the war with the United States? Contrast the success of our invasion of Mexico with the failure of our invasion of Canada. Give reason for the difference. Whom do you consider the greatest general in the Mexican war. Show how Jefferson’s purchase of Louisiana led to the war with Mexico.

TAYLOR'S AND FILLMORE'S ADMINISTRATIONS.

One Term: 1849-1853.

479. Services and Characters of the Presidents.— Zachary Taylor was born in Virginia (1784), but his father removed to Kentucky and took up residence there while Zachary was yet an infant. The boy grew up under the pioneer conditions of this western state. In his youth he had very little formal education and saw little of the world. His father had been a soldier in the Revolutionary army and an older brother was an officer in the United States army. At the age of twenty-four he entered the army himself, became a lieutenant and afterward a captain. In the War of 1812, he distinguished himself in the defense of one of the outposts in Indiana. In the decisive battle against Black Hawk and his warriors (§ 438) Taylor commanded the troops of the regular army. His greatest early distinction was won by his wonderful march of a hundred and fifty miles into the everglades of Florida in the pursuit of the Seminoles. The Indians who had eluded so many officers did not escape him. He penetrated to their chief village and defeated them in a bloody battle. After a year's prosecution of the war in different parts of this Florida wilderness, the chiefs were forced to surrender; and with their people, they were removed across the Mississippi. An account



Zachary Taylor.

of the officer's brilliant work in the Mexican War has already been given. He was nominated for president by the Whig party.

Though almost wholly uneducated, the president had learned in a stern, though narrow, school of experience. He was



Millard Fillmore.

frank, sincere, and incorruptible, brave and determined. He gained the presidency because of his military reputation; but he won the respect of the nation as the highest civil officer of the land. He died in July, 1850, after one year's service as president, and the vice-president succeeded to the presidency.

Millard Fillmore was born in New York in

1800. He began the practice of law soon after reaching his majority. After serving a few terms in the state Legislature, he was elected to Congress in 1830, and was reelected three times. He was comptroller of his state when he was nominated for the vice-presidency.

480. The Problem of the Administration.—The problem of this administration was the proper organization of the vast territory acquired from Mexico during the previous administration. At first, Congress failed to make any provision for the government of California, and for nearly two years, the province rested under the control of military officers appointed before the treaty was signed. But President Taylor wished to have both California and New Mexico become organic parts of

the Union as soon as possible. He sent agents to both territories for the purpose of urging the people to ask for admission, and of advising them as to the best method to reach this end. In California, a constitutional convention was called by the military governor. The constitution which it framed was adopted almost unanimously by the people (November 13, 1849), and state officers were elected. Under this organization and this constitution, the territory asked for admission as a state. It sent congressmen and senators to Washington. A clause in its constitution, prohibiting slavery, caused trouble and delay. The old controversy as to whether new territory should enter the Union "free" or "slave" arose again with greater intensity and bitterness.

481. The Conflicting Opinions.—The extreme party at the North insisted that slavery should be prohibited in all the territory acquired from Mexico.¹ As heretofore, some of the Southern leaders urged that the territories should decide for themselves whether they should enter the Union as "slave" or "free" states. Others wanted the line of the Missouri Compromise drawn to the Pacific.

482. The Compromise of 1850.—Henry Clay, "The Great Peace-Maker," brought forward in January a compromise measure, which, because of the many interests it included, was called the Omnibus Bill. These were its provisions: (1) The speedy admission of California as a free state; (2) Territorial governments in New Mexico and Utah without any restrictions upon slavery; (3) The payment to Texas of ten million dollars for her claim to a part of the territory of New Mexico; (4) Slavery was not to be abolished in the District of Columbia without the consent of Maryland, but the slave trade therein

¹ The Wilmot Proviso, introduced in Congress during the progress of the war, sought to prohibit, beforehand, the introduction of slavery into any of the territory that might be acquired. It did not become a law.

was prohibited; (5) A more effective fugitive slave-law; (6) Denial to Congress of all power to interfere with the slave trade between slave-holding states.¹ This bill became law.

The debate upon this bill extended over seven months and was carried on by men who made national reputations in its discussion and by others, already famous, who remain our country's greatest orators. Webster, Clay, and Calhoun, the great statesmen who had been powerful in shaping the policy of our government for a quarter of a century, were in their old age again in their places in the Senate; and all of them presented eloquent arguments and all of them supported the general provisions of the bill.² Among others who participated in the debate were Jefferson Davis, who took positive and aggressive Southern ground, and William H. Seward, of New York, an impassioned anti-slavery orator.

483. The Fugitive-Slave Agitation.—The Fugitive-Slave Law, which was a part of the compromise, provided that runaway slaves might be claimed by their owners in any territory: it directed federal officers to aid the master in securing fugitives; it allowed the master to present proofs of ownership and identity, but denied the slave the right to testify.³ In the Northern states the arrest of fugitive slaves, under this law, was resisted. One slave in Syracuse and another in Boston

¹ "To please the North, California was to be admitted, and the slave dépôts here in the District were to be broken up. To please the slave states a stringent fugitive-slave act was to be passed and slavery was to have a chance to get into the new territories. The support of the senators and representatives from Texas was to be gained by a liberal adjustment of boundary and by the assumption of a large portion of their state debt."—*Salmon P. Chase, Senate*, February 3, 1854.

² Mr. Calhoun was too feeble to deliver his speech on this bill, but he sat in the Senate while it was read by a friend. This was Calhoun's last appearance in the Senate. He died March 31, 1850. Clay and Webster died two years later; Clay, June 28, 1852; Webster, October 24, 1852.

³ Webster had contended for trial by jury in the question of ownership and identity. He wished to provide against the fraudulent capture of negroes by adventurers. But no case of a fraudulent claim of this kind was ever discovered.

were taken from officers by mob force and secretly hurried out of the country. Several Northern states passed Personal Liberty Bills "nullifying" the fugitive-slave law. The Abolitionists established routes and stations from the South to Canada by means of which "underground railways," as they were called, slaves were aided to escape from the United States. Webster, Choate, and many of the Northern statesmen defended the law or advocated compliance with it. Seward and the Abolitionists asserted that the obligation to conscience was higher than the obligation to the law of the land.

484. Railroad Development. — In the year 1851, the Erie Railroad, the longest in the country at the time (470 miles), was formally opened. The president, and several members of his cabinet, rode the full length of the track and joined in the jubilee exercises by speaking at the larger towns. Before the close of the administration, 10,087 miles of road had been constructed. In March, 1853, Congress ordered an exploration at public expense to ascertain the best route for a railroad to the Pacific Ocean.

485. Summary. — President Taylor died after a little more than a year's service, and Vice-President Fillmore succeeded to the presidency. California adopted a constitution in 1849 and asked for admission to the Union. Controversy arose as to whether it should be admitted as "free" or "slave" territory. Henry Clay offered the Omnibus Bill (1850) as a compromise measure. California was admitted as a free state; New Mexico and Utah were to have territorial governments without restrictions as to slavery. A new and severe fugitive-slave bill aroused great opposition at the North. Secret routes and stations (nicknamed "underground railways") were arranged to aid the flight of runaway slaves. Railroads developed rapidly: the administration closed with 10,000 miles of track and an order for a survey for a route to the Pacific Ocean.

486. Thought Questions. — What reference to fugitive slaves was contained in the provisions of the New England Confederation? In the Ordinance of 1787? In the Constitution of the United States? What was the most important event of this administration?

PIERCE'S ADMINISTRATION.

One Term: 1853-1857

487. Services and Character of the New President. —

Franklin Pierce (born in New Hampshire in 1804) was the son of a distinguished family and had excellent early advantages of education and association. At twenty-five, he entered the state Legislature; at twenty-nine, the House of Representatives; and at thirty-three, the United States Senate. After serving five years in the Senate, he resigned his seat and resumed the practice of law at Concord, New Hampshire. He declined to go into President Polk's cabinet as attorney-general. He also refused to be considered for the Democratic nomination for governor of his state. When the Mexican War came up, he enlisted as a volunteer. He



Franklin Pierce.

was quickly advanced to the rank of brigadier-general; and in General Scott's march to the Mexican capital he rendered signal service. He was nominated for the presidency by the Democratic party in 1852, and was elected over General Scott, who was the Whig candidate. He was a man of aggressive temper, was true to his friends and to his party, and was fearless and persevering in the execution of his policies.

488. Slavery: The Kansas and Nebraska Bill. — Not all of the pioneers who started for the Pacific coast reached the Californian El Dorado. Some stopped on the way, fearing to

risk the dangerous journey across the mountains. The great plain west of the Missouri was settled by these travelers who found it impossible to reach the extreme west.

Senator Douglas of Illinois, chairman of the committee on territories, had become interested in this "Platte Country"¹ and proposed to organize it into territories. His bill, introduced in January, 1854,² divided this region into two parts, the northern part called Nebraska, and the southern part Kansas. Both of the proposed territories lay within the limits of the Louisiana purchase and north of 36° 30' and were therefore, under the provisions of the Missouri Compromise, free territory. The Kansas-Nebraska bill, however, proposed to set aside this part of the Missouri Compromise and to leave the people of the territory to say, when they asked for admission as a state, whether they would permit slavery. The bill was strongly opposed by those who were fighting slavery. It was condemned as a flagrant violation of the Missouri Compromise, which, by its own terms, was to last forever. Senator Douglas contended that the great compromise Omnibus Bill of 1850 virtually repealed the Missouri Compromise by setting forth the principle that Congress should not interfere with new territory by legislating either freedom or slavery into it, and by declaring the people's right to decide about slavery in their own domain.³ For months, the bill was the subject of debate in

¹ This great plain was called the "Platte Country" from the Platte River, which was its chief physical feature.

² On January 4, 1854, Senator Douglas introduced a bill for the organization of Nebraska Territory. This bill provided that the people, by their own constitution, should decide whether slavery should be permitted within the limits of the state. In other words, the existence of slavery or of freedom within Nebraska was not to be considered by Congress when the territory applied for admission as a state. On January 23, Senator Douglas offered the bill described above as a substitute for the bill of January 4. The second bill expressly repealed that part of the Missouri Compromise (Section 8) which the first bill was said to violate indirectly.

³ The Omnibus Bill provided that New Mexico and Utah should be admitted without any restrictions as to slavery.

Congress. It became a national issue, and was the subject of bitter controversy in the newspapers and on the stump. It was passed in May. It created two new territories. It expressly repealed that part of the Missouri Compromise which said that the territory north of $36^{\circ} 30'$ should be forever free. The authority for deciding upon slavery was taken from Congress and was given to the people of the territories.¹

489. The Struggle for Kansas.—Between the North and the South, a struggle began for supremacy in Kansas. Indeed, in the North, preparations to colonize Kansas with free settlers began while the bill was pending. In April, 1854, the Massachusetts Legislature granted a charter to "The Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society" which, with a capital stock of five million dollars, prepared to organize a far-reaching system of Kansas emigration.² But this first attempt at colonization was not very successful. The next year, a second charter was granted by the Massachusetts Legislature, this time to the "New England Emigrant Society," which society was duly organized, obtained contributions to the amount of \$140,000, and was more successful than the first one had been. In July, 1854, however, through the influence and direct aid of the original Massachusetts Company, a body of Massachusetts emigrants set out on their way to Kansas. The news of the journey to the West, heralded far and wide in the press, proved a wonderful stimulus in inducing others to aid in getting control of the territory; so that by the end of the year, Kansas had a population of several thousand "sons of freedom." The South made no organized attempt at colonization, but it looked on the Northern movement with a jealous eye. The slave-

¹ The settlers in this Western country were often called "Squatters," and their right to decide upon slavery was often spoken of as "Squatter Sovereignty."

² This charter was the result of the work of Eli Thayer, who was a pioneer in Kansas colonization from the North. He was heartily encouraged and supported by such men as Charles Francis Adams, Edward Everett Hale, and Horace Greeley.

holders along the borders of Missouri prepared their own plan for saving Kansas to the South: they proposed to move over into Kansas at the proper time and meet the New England Free-Soilers at the polls. The New England societies had armed their colonists, and the Missouri "Borderers" had guns and knew how to use them. Under such conditions, contests, riots, and bloodshed were inevitable. In the election of a territorial delegate to Congress, the slave-holders were successful. The first territorial Legislature was in favor of slavery. But the free-state settlers claimed that this first Legislature was elected by fraudulent votes of "Border Ruffians" from Missouri. So the free-state colonists elected a Legislature of their own and prepared to form a code of laws. The president recognized the slavery Legislature as the legal one and sent federal troops to suppress any violence or rebellion. There was so much fighting between the factions that the territory came to be known as "Bleeding Kansas."

490. The Republican Party.— People who were opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska Act, or to slavery, joined together in the next election to elect congressmen who were opposed to slavery and to the principles of this act. These voters were at first spoken of as the "Anti-Nebraska Men." They elected a majority of the next House of Representatives. They afterwards took the name of the Republican party.¹ At the time, the organization was strictly a Northern and an anti-slavery party. Its members came from Northern Democrats, Northern Whigs, Free-Soilers, and the American party.² This was the origin of the Republican party of to-day.

¹ The Democrats called the Republicans "Black Republicans" because they sought to free the negro.

² A secret political organization was formed about 1852. Because outsiders could learn nothing of its purposes, it was called the Know-Nothing party. It took the name of the American party and its object became known. Its design was to hinder or prevent the naturalization of foreigners (see Constitution) and to vote only for American candidates for office.

491. The World's Fair. — In July, 1853, America's first World's Fair was opened at New York City. President Pierce attended the exercises and spoke to a vast audience. The Old World, however, did not extend the patronage that the New World had expected, and financially the fair was a failure. But it demonstrated that Americans were the greatest of all inventors, and that in labor-saving machinery, and notably agricultural implements, America led the world.

492. The Treaty with Japan. — In the same year (1853), Commodore Perry, with a fleet of steamships, was allowed to enter one of the ports of Japan. The Japanese had never seen a steamship, and they were very suspicious of Americans; but, on acquaintance, they liked our ships and our representatives so well that they made a treaty with the United States opening the way to commerce between the nations. Since that time, the Japanese have advanced rapidly in civilization and have borne the most cordial relations with our country.

493. Summary. — The Kansas-Nebraska bill, organizing the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, was passed (May, 1854). By its provisions, the people of the territory were to decide on slavery. A fierce struggle began between the anti-slavery and the slavery people for the possession of Kansas. The preliminary victories were for those who favored slavery. The Republican party, a party opposed to slavery, grew out of the opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Our first World's Fair was held in New York, in 1853. A treaty with Japan, made in 1853, established a friendly relation with this country that has never been broken.

494. Thought Questions. — Name the states whose admission aroused the slavery controversy. What two bills were violations of the "Missouri Compromise"? What was the most important event of Pierce's administration? Why do you so consider it?

BUCHANAN'S ADMINISTRATION.

One Term: 1857-1861.

495. Services and Character of the New President.—

James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, was born in 1791. He educated himself for the law. Prior to his entrance into national politics he served his state as a member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives. From 1820 to 1831, he was a representative in the Congress of the United States. He was then sent as minister to Russia. For eleven years (1834 to 1845) he was a United States senator. During Polk's administration he



James Buchanan.

was secretary of state. At the time he was nominated for the presidency he was minister to England. Throughout his entire political career he was a Democrat. He was a man of high character, cautious temperament, and patriotic feeling.

496. Dred Scott Decision.—A few days after Buchanan's inauguration the Supreme Court rendered its decision in the Dred Scott case. Dred Scott was a slave owned by Dr. Emerson of Missouri. While in discharge of his duties as surgeon in the United States Army, Dr. Emerson resided for several years in the free State of Illinois, and in that part of the

Louisiana territory now embraced in the State of Minnesota. The master carried his slave with him, and after his return to Missouri sold Scott to a Mr. Sanford, a citizen of New York. Suit was instituted against Sanford in the name of Scott. Upon the ground that residence in a free state and territory had secured his liberty, the slave was declared free by the State Circuit Court of Missouri. On appeal by Sanford, this decision was reversed by the State Supreme Court. Scott, claiming to be a citizen of Missouri, then instituted suit in the Federal Circuit Court. If Scott was a citizen of Missouri, then the suit was between citizens of the different states, and could therefore be tried in the United States courts (§ 343). Sanford urged that Scott was not a citizen, but a slave, and, therefore, could not bring suit. This plea was overruled, and a jury awarded Scott as a slave to Sanford. The case was then appealed by Scott and went before the Supreme Court of the United States for decision. After three years, in 1857, the decision was announced. The court, consisting of nine justices, declared that no African, whether slave or free, could be a citizen of a state or of the United States; that Scott, upon his return to Missouri, had again become a slave.

497. Results of the Decision. — The Court has been severely censured for not stopping there. But thinking that the case involved the constitutionality of the Missouri Compromise, the Court considered that also. This compromise was declared unconstitutional, on the ground that the Louisiana territory was common property, and Congress had no right to discriminate against any state. (Const., Art. IV, Sec. 2, clause 1.) In this decision seven of the nine justices concurred. Thirty-seven years after the passage of the Compromise Bill, the Court had at last an opportunity to express its opinion as to the constitutionality of the measure. The decision was rendered in the hope that the political excite-

ment might be allayed by this settlement of the question. But instead of averting the threatened danger, it added fuel to the flames. The anti-slavery element saw that every department of the government was against their views. The name of Chief Justice Taney was execrated at the North; and although he had held the position of chief justice of the United States for nearly a quarter of a century, he was accused of playing into the hands of the Southern leaders.

498. Mormon Insurrection.—During the first year of this administration, trouble arose with the Mormons in Utah. They objected to the establishment of Federal courts in their territory, and prepared to resist the United States authorities. An army was sent against them, and upon a general proclamation of pardon, quiet was restored.

499. Panic of 1857.—For a number of years the country had been in a prosperous condition. The great gold discoveries had given unusual stimulus to trade. Speculation was rife. A reaction, caused by too great stimulus, came in 1857, and a financial panic occurred. Congress, to relieve the stringency, passed the tariff law of 1857, reducing tariff duties to the revenue level. This period has been called “the free-trade era.”

500. The Lincoln-Douglas Debate.—Senator Douglas, of Illinois, by favoring the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, had made himself very popular at the South, though he was severely criticised at the North. He parted company, however, with the South in the Kansas controversy. The Southern party in Kansas adopted a constitution which allowed slavery, and applied for admission to the Union. The convention was held at Lecompton, and the constitution adopted was therefore called the “Lecompton Constitution.” The opposition charged unfairness and refrained from voting when the

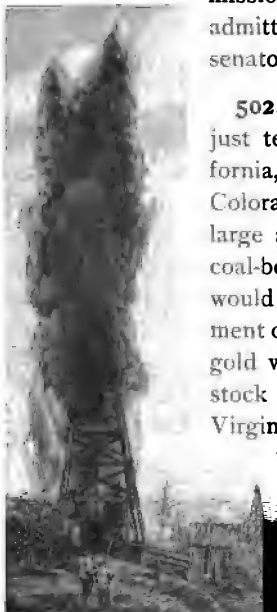
constitution was submitted for adoption by the people of the territory. Congress passed a bill admitting Kansas, but resubmitting the constitution to a vote of the people. The constitution was defeated this time, and Kansas remained a territory. Douglas opposed the enforcement of the Lecompton constitution, and thus regained his hold in the North. He wished also to regain the leadership which he had lost in the South, for he wanted to be elected president. Accordingly, his canvass for the senatorship from Illinois, in 1858, attracted the attention of the whole country. His opponent was Abraham Lincoln, who was soon to be the foremost figure in the United States. The two candidates took the stump in their own interest, and a series of most important debates occurred. Douglas was an experienced debater and had no rival in his ability to present his side of the slavery question. His opponent, Abraham Lincoln, had a strong, logical mind, and his evident sincerity was sure to create a deep impression upon his hearers.

Upon the issue of these debates would depend not only the election to the United States Senate, but the decision as to who should be elected as the next president. Lincoln, in spite of the protest of his friends, said in his opening speech, "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall, but I expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other." Whatever Lincoln may have meant by these words, it gave Douglas an opportunity to represent his opponent as a Disunionist.

In the Dred Scott case Douglas's doctrine of "Squatter Sovereignty" (p. 324, footnote), which declared that the people of the territories might decide the question of slavery as they should see fit, had been repudiated by the Supreme Court. Lincoln asked if the people of a territory might legally keep out slavery. If Douglas answered "No," then not only Illinois but the entire North would be incensed; if he said "Yes" then the

support of the South would be totally lost. In this dilemma Douglas replied that as a matter of fact if the people of a territory were hostile to slavery, slavery would not exist there. This answer satisfied the people of Illinois, and he was elected to the Senate, but it offended the South and ruined his chances for the presidency.

501. New States.— During this administration three new states were admitted into the Union: Minnesota in 1858; Oregon in 1859; and Kansas in 1861. All of these states came in as free states. Kansas, which had been refused admission as a free state by the Senate, was admitted in 1861 after some of the Southern senators had withdrawn from the Senate.



Oil Well.

502. Mineral Discoveries.— In 1858, just ten years after the discoveries in California, gold mines were found at Pike's Peak, Colorado. Already it had been found that large areas of the United States contained coal-bearing strata, and that the cost of fuel would offer no impediment to the development of our country. In the same year that gold was discovered in Colorado, the Comstock Silver Mines were discovered at Virginia City, Nevada. Up to this time it was not known that there were any silver deposits in the United States. Since then the West has produced most of the world's silver.

In 1859, rich underground oil streams were found in Pennsylvania. Wells were sunk and the oil brought to the surface. These wells were richer in usefulness to man than even the great mines of Colorado.

503. John Brown's Raid. — Prodigious excitement had been produced at the North by the Dred Scott decision. Equally intense was the excitement produced in the South by the John Brown Raid. John Brown was a half-crazy fanatic who conceived the notion that it was his special mission to overthrow slavery. Recognizing no law but his own conception of right, he had figured as a bloody fanatic in the Kansas struggle. His large family of sons were very like their father. This family and a few friends, under Brown, conceived a plan of liberating and arming the slaves. With the view of securing the necessary arms, they seized the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in October, 1859. The band numbered less than two dozen. Before they could escape they were easily captured by Colonel Robert E. Lee with a few United States troops. In resisting capture most of the band were killed. The survivors were tried and executed by the Virginia authorities.

Many at the South believed that this was but the prelude to a larger plot in the North to incite negro insurrection in the South. This belief greatly increased the bitter feeling, because the people feared that a Republican president, if elected, would aid such plots.

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1860.

504. The Democratic Convention met in Charleston, S. C., April 23, 1860, to nominate candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency. The Southern leaders had determined to secure an endorsement of their views in the platform, and to prevent the nomination of Douglas.

The Northern members refused to endorse the platform submitted. To do so would, they feared, cause defeat in their own states. The Southern members refused to accept less than the endorsement of the Dred Scott decision.

505. First Split in Democratic Party.—The convention split in two. Many of the Southern delegates withdrew and decided to meet later in Richmond. The rest of the convention, though largely Douglas men, could not agree on a candidate. On May 3, the convention adjourned, to give time for the vacancies caused by the seceding members to be filled. They adjourned to meet in Baltimore.

506. Constitutional Party.—While the Democratic convention had been in session at Charleston, the Constitutional Union Party had met. This was composed mainly of the old Know-Nothing sympathizers. They were joined also by a large number who were weary of the agitation of the slavery question. They nominated Bell of Tennessee for the presidency, and Everett of Massachusetts for the vice-presidency.

507. Republicans.—On May 16 the Republican convention assembled at Chicago. The general expectation was that Seward would be nominated, and on the first ballot he received the largest number of votes. There was strong opposition to him, however, and it was thought best to conciliate it. On the third ballot Abraham Lincoln of Illinois was nominated for the presidency. Hannibal Hamlin of Maine was placed on the ticket for the vice-presidency.

508. Second Split in Democratic Party.—The larger element of the Democratic party containing the Northern delegates convened at Baltimore on June 18. The contested seats were decided in favor of the Douglas men. This caused a second split; and the chairman of the convention, most of the Southern members, and a few Northerners withdrew. Those remaining nominated Douglas of Illinois by adopting the majority vote.

The second set of seceders adopted the platform which caused the division in Charleston. Their nominees were

Breckinridge of Kentucky and Lane of Oregon. Their action was endorsed by the first set of seceders when they met in Richmond.

Thus we find four strong parties with candidates for the presidency.

509. Position of the Parties on Slavery.—The Republican party, under the leadership of Lincoln, declared that slavery was a local institution, and owed its existence to state laws ; that it had no rights in the territories and that Congress should prohibit its extension.

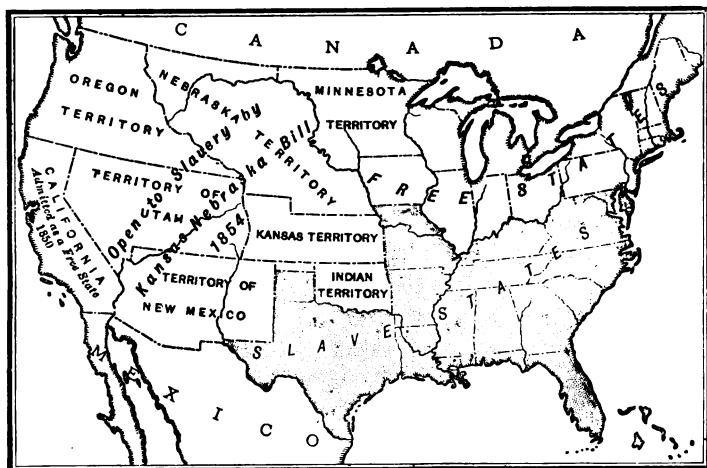
The Southern wing of the Democratic party, with Breckinridge as their champion, affirmed that Congress should protect all property in the territories, and therefore the property in slaves. They based their demands on the decision of the Supreme Court.

The Northern Democrats declared their willingness to abide by the Supreme Court decision, yet adhered to the "Squatter Sovereignty" doctrine. With their leader, Douglas, they held that it was possible to exclude slavery from any territory if the people of the territory voted to do so.

The Constitutional Union party desired to avoid the slavery issue. They merely declared their loyalty to the Constitution and devotion to the Union.

510. The Election.—The extremists at the North and South went into the campaign with fixed purposes,—the former intending to yield no longer to the demands of slavery, the South resolved to secede if Lincoln should be elected. The campaign was a very earnest one. The Republicans won, chiefly because their opponents were divided. Lincoln carried the Northern states, Breckinridge the South, Bell the border states of Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, and Douglas carried Missouri. The vote of New Jersey was divided between Lincoln and Douglas. Douglas's strength lay in the same

states as Lincoln's, but Lincoln carried all of these states except New Jersey, and received the majority of the votes of that state. The popular vote gave Lincoln 1,866,452 ; Douglas, 1,375,157 ; Breckinridge, 847,953 ; Bell, 590,631. Thus we



Area of Slave and Free States.

see that the opposition to Lincoln was very strong, and that he received far less than a majority of the popular vote. By electoral votes the result stood : Lincoln, 180 ; Breckinridge, 72 ; Bell, 39 ; Douglas, 12.

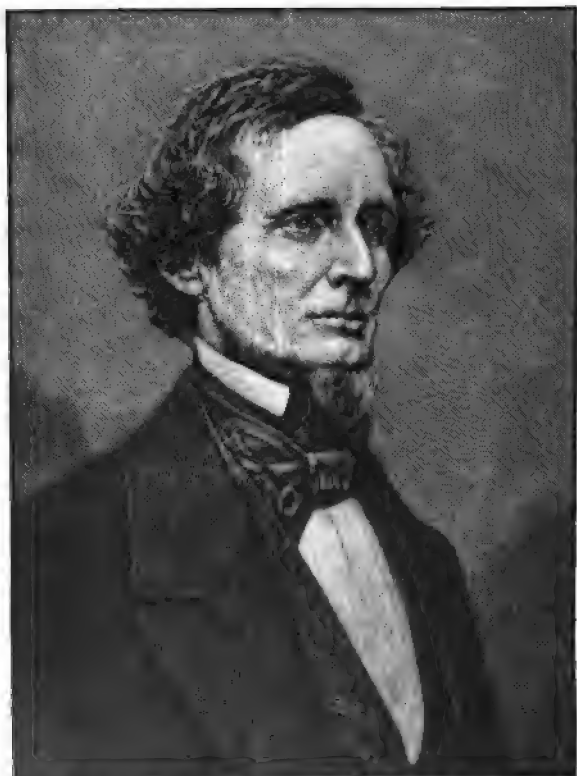
511. Sentiment at the South. — It was evident that should the Republican party triumph, strong efforts would be made in the South for secession. The triumph of a party avowedly hostile to slavery in the territories was considered a menace to Southern interests. Many believed that the Republican party would proceed to attack slavery in the Southern states whenever it got strong enough, and its wonderful growth during recent years showed that it would soon be strong enough. A few devoted Union men urged that it would be better to remain

in the Union, and await an overt act, a violation of the rights which the states had reserved when they adopted the Constitution ; but the great majority deemed delay dangerous and the time before Lincoln's inauguration the most opportune for action.

512. Buchanan's Attitude. — They had no active opposition to fear from President Buchanan. In his message to Congress, which met on December 3, 1860, Buchanan justified the attitude of the South. He showed that the Federal laws had been nullified by the Personal Liberty Laws (§ 483) passed by the Northern states, denounced the so-called "Underground Railway," by which runaway slaves were passed from house to house, and thus helped in their escape from their lawful masters, and he condemned the slavery agitation so prevalent at the North. While he did not assent to the doctrine of secession, he upheld the right of revolution, and claimed that the general government had no right to coerce a state. This message from a Northern president undoubtedly helped the secession movement in the South.

513. Crittenden Compromise. — Several compromises were attempted by patriotic men who still believed that compromise was possible. The *Crittenden Compromise* proposed that the Constitution be amended so as to recognize the 36° 30' line ; and that payment should be made out of the national treasury for fugitive slaves who could not be recovered. All attempts at compromise were ineffectual.

514. Secession. — The electors in South Carolina were chosen by the Legislature. After choosing them the Legislature remained in session to await the result of the election. When the news of Lincoln's election was received, the Legislature called a convention to be elected by the people. This convention was to take such action as the emergency demanded.



JEFFERSON DAVIS.

It met December 17, and on the 20th, by a unanimous vote, passed the Secession Ordinance, recalling the consent given to the Federal Constitution in 1788, and to the amendments adopted afterward.

515. First Area of Secession. — In January, 1861, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, and Louisiana seceded, and in February Texas also left the Union. In all these states, conventions of the people passed the secession ordinances. In Texas the action of the convention was submitted to the people and ratified by popular vote. We find that at the time of Lincoln's inauguration the area of secession embraced the five Gulf states, together with Georgia and South Carolina.

516. The Confederate States of America. — Delegates from the seven seceded states met in Montgomery, Alabama, in February and organized "The Confederate States of America." They adopted a constitution modeled after the Federal Constitution, as the South understood that instrument. In fact, they claimed that they were preserving the constitution as framed by their forefathers.

NOTE. — The following are some of the features worthy of note :—

In the preamble, to perpetuate their doctrine of state sovereignty, they used the expression "each state acting in its sovereign and independent character."

No protective tariff was to be levied.

Negro slavery was distinctly recognized, and property in slaves given the same right as any other property. Slavery was to be allowed in all territory subsequently acquired.

The term of office for president and vice-president was fixed at six years: they were ineligible for reelection.

517. The President and Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy. — Jefferson Davis,¹ of Mississippi, was chosen

¹ Jefferson Davis was born in 1808 in Kentucky, but his father removed shortly afterward to Mississippi. After attending Transylvania University Davis entered West Point, and was graduated in the class of 1828. He served in the army until

president, and Alex. H. Stephens,¹ of Georgia, vice-president. Military preparations began throughout the South, although



Alexander H. Stephens.

many still hoped that there would be no war. South Carolina even sent commissioners to Washington to arrange for friendly adjustment of questions relating to the national debt and federal property.

518. The Right of Secession.— Let us see what the grounds of the South's actions were. In the beginning of our government the right of a state to withdraw from the Federal Union would scarcely have been questioned (§§ 339,

366). New England was long a stronghold of secession, and more

1835, when he resigned and settled on his plantation in Mississippi. In 1845 he was elected to Congress. As colonel of the First Mississippi Rifles he won distinction at Monterey and Buena Vista. He became U. S. senator in 1847. He was secretary of war under Pierce (1853-7). In 1857 he was again elected senator, and in 1861 he withdrew from the Senate after the secession of Mississippi. After Calhoun Mr. Davis was probably the ablest exponent of the doctrine of State Sovereignty the country has produced. He was conservative in temperament, of the greatest purity of character, loyal to his convictions of duty, a logical and eloquent speaker, and well fitted to adorn the highest civic positions.

¹ Alexander H. Stephens was born in 1812 in Georgia. He was carefully educated, and was graduated from the University of Georgia. After teaching for a year he became a lawyer. He served in the Georgia Legislature, and in 1843 he was elected to Congress. He had been reelected six times when he became the vice-president of the Confederate States. He entered Congress again in 1877 and served until 1882, when he was elected governor of Georgia. He died before the close of his term, in 1883.

than once threatened it when she deemed Federal policy injurious to her interests (§ 407). The South still held to the belief that a state had the right to withdraw from a Union which it had been free to enter, while the North had come to believe that the Union was indissoluble. Though the belief that the Union was a compact, and therefore might be dissolved, was general in the early years of our history, it was not universal. There were always those who held the opposite belief. The process by which the South became the champion of state sovereignty and the North of centralization, was a very gradual one. In 1800, Jefferson was elected upon his opposition to the Federal view of the Constitution. In the Kentucky Resolutions (§ 366), he had expressed his belief that, "as in all other cases of compact among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infraction as of the mode and measure of redress."

519. The Constitution, North and South.—One of the important functions of a constitution is to set limits to legislation. These provisions should be general. Unforeseen contingencies must be met, besides those calling for amendments. In this respect the Constitution of the United States is a model. But the very feature which should have been its strength was its weakness. Had the North and South developed in parallel lines, our Constitution would naturally have developed to suit their altered conditions. But the South remained practically unchanged, while the North underwent a wonderful transformation. The South wished to retain the Constitution without any changes, as best suited its unchanged condition. The North had developed, and with it also developed naturally new ideas about the Constitution.

520. Secession the "Mode of Redress."—The South held that the Constitution had been violated by the North, and

determined "to judge for itself as well of the infraction as of the mode and measure of redress." Secession was the "measure of redress" adopted. Few in the South doubted the right of a state to secede, although many doubted the policy. Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, a strong believer in the right of secession, bitterly opposed it. Throughout the South there was a strong feeling of attachment to the Union to whose past glory Southern statesmen and soldiers had contributed so large a part.¹

521. Cause of the War.—The North based its cause on loyalty to the Union; the South on loyalty to the principle of states' rights. The people of the North were putting down a rebellion against the noblest government God had lent man wisdom to frame; the people of the South thought the North was waging war to retain a rich taxing district. The one hastened to save the Union; the other left all to repel the invader.

The South believed that its connection with the North cost its people many millions of dollars annually, without compensatory benefit. Then the best thing for the Southern states to do would be to sever their connection with the North and establish their independence as a nation. This is the reason why the states wished to withdraw. Believing their rights invaded, they resented the aggression. Believing they would be more prosperous out of the Union, they formed the Confederate States of America. The North denied the right of secession, and determined to prevent by force the withdrawal of the Southern states. This was the cause of the war. For many years sectional feeling had been growing stronger, more dangerous, and less reasonable. Slavery was the issue that set this sectional feeling on fire. It was but the occasion of the war, not its cause.

¹ It will be interesting to note the part played by Southern men in the history of our country from 1775 to 1860.

522. Before Lincoln's Inauguration. — Wonderful activity was manifest in the South. Southern officers resigned their places in the army and navy, Southern representatives withdrew from the Federal Congress as the states seceded, and the seceding states took possession of arsenals, post-offices, and other Federal property within their territory. Soon the only forts in the seceding states remaining in the possession of the United States were at Pensacola and Charleston. President Buchanan, Congress, and the North were inactive. Congress spent the winter in trying to effect a compromise. A few Northern governors prepared to fight, but the general government did nothing. Many people in the North were willing to say to the seceding states, "Wayward sisters, go in peace."

523. Summary. — The decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case, that no slave could be a citizen, and that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional, caused political excitement in the North. A Mormon insurrection was quelled by United States troops. To relieve financial stringency, the low tariff act of 1857 was passed. The debates of Lincoln and Douglas in their canvass for the senatorship of Illinois attracted national attention. John Brown's lawless effort to free the slaves caused intense excitement in the South. In the presidential campaign of 1860 the Democratic party split, and there were four candidates in the field. Lincoln, the Republican candidate, was elected. Believing that with the Republican party in power, their rights under the constitution were no longer safe, the Southern states determined to withdraw from the Union. South Carolina led off in December, followed quickly by Georgia and the five Gulf states. The government of the Confederate States was organized with Jefferson Davis as president and Alexander H. Stephens as vice-president. The seceded states took possession of federal property in their territory, and were active in organizing the new government. In the North sentiment was divided.

524. Thought Questions. — On what occasion did Congress first limit the extension of slavery? Was this before or after the adoption of our present constitution? Show how the Dred Scott Decision affected the extension of slavery. Mention another important decision of the Supreme Court. Give an outline of tariff legislation up to the close of Buchanan's administration. Mention the occasions in our history when the right of secession has been claimed.

TOPICAL ANALYSIS. (GROWTH OF SECTIONAL ANTAGONISM.)

JACKSON'S ADMINISTRATION. — 1829-37.

433. **The New President.**434. **Changes in Office.** { Jackson's policy.
Policy of later presidents.435. **The National Bank.** { First United States banks.
Jackson's opposition.
Removal of deposits.
Final action of Congress.436. **Tariff Development.** { The first tariff.
Positions of New England and the South.
Tariff of 1816.
Change of sentiment.
Tariff of 1824.
Tariff of 1828.437. **Nullification.** { The Hayne-Webster debate.
Tariff of 1832.
Action of South Carolina.
Action of the president.
The Calhoun-Webster debate.
Compromise tariff.438. **Indian Uprisings.** { The Sacs and the Foxes.
The Seminoles.439, 440, 441. **The Abolition Crusade.** { The pioneers.
Various opinions.
Deeds of violence.
Action of Congress442. **Railways.** { First railway in the United States.
Steam engines.
First locomotive.
Increase of railways.443. **The Whig Party.** { Opposition to Jackson.
Rise of Whigs.
Presidential election.

- VAN BUREN'S
ADMINIS-
TRATION.**
1837-41.
- 446. **The New President.**
 - 447. **Financial Panic.** { Cause.
Results.
 - 448. **The Sub-Treasury.** { The president's views.
Sub-treasury system.
 - 449. **Slavery.** { The abolitionists.
Feeling, North and South.
 - 450. **Scientific Progress.**

HARRISON AND TYLER'S ADMINISTRATION. — 1841-45.

- 453. **Harrison's Election and Death.**
- 454. **President Tyler: Services and character.**
- 455. **The National Bank Controversy.** { Repeal of Sub-treasury law.
Passage of Bank bills.
President's vetoes.
Results.
- 456. **The Ashburton Treaty.** { Trouble with Great Britain.
Settlement of the dispute.
- 457. **The Tariff Legislation: The Tariff of 1842.**
- 458. **The Dorr Rebellion.** { Suffrage in Rhode Island.
Uprising of Dorr.
New constitution.
- 459. **The Mormons.** { Founder of the sect.
Troubles in Illinois.
Settlement in Utah.
- 460. **The Telegraph.** { The first experiment.
Spread of telegraph lines.
- 461. **Texas.** { Settlers from United States.
Texas revolution.
Independence recognized.
Annexation dispute in United States.
Presidential election.
Annexation.
- 462. **Florida and Iowa admitted.**

**POLK'S
ADMINIS-
TRATION.**
1845-49.
(War with
Mexico.)

- 465. **The New President.**
- 466. **The Oregon Boundary.** { Claims of England and of U. S.
Boundary settled.
- 467. **The Oregon Trail.** { First explorations.
Trading expeditions.
First settlement.
Rivalry of English.
Whitman's achievements.
- 468. **Beginning of the War.** { Disputed boundary of Texas.
Orders to Gen. Taylor.
First engagement.
- 469. **Battles in Texas.** { Palo Alto.
Resaca de la Palma.
- 470. **Taylor's Invasion of Mexico.** { Capture of Monterey.
Battle of Buena Vista.
- 471. **Scott's Invasion of Mexico.** { Vera Cruz.
March to the capital.
Fall of the city.
- 472. **Conquest of California.** { The Mexican province.
Fremont's campaign.
Commodore Sloat.
- 473. **New Mexico Taken:** Kearney's campaign.
- 474. **Treaty of Peace.**
- 475, 476. **Gold in California.** { The discovery of gold.
The "gold fever."
Increase in population.

**TAYLOR
AND
FILMORE'S
ADMINIS-
TRATION.**
1849-53.

- 479. **The Presidents.** { The services of Taylor.
Death of Taylor.
Services of Filmore.
- 480. **The Problem of the Administration.** { Military government of California.
Movements toward statehood.
The old controversy.
- 481. **Conflicting Opinions.**
- 482. **Compromise of 1850.** { The "Omnibus Bill."
Debate on the bill.

TAYLOR AND FILMORE'S ADMINIS- TRATION. (Continued.)	{	483. The Fugitive-Slave Agitation.	{	The Fugitive-Slave Law. Resistance by individuals. Nullification by states. "Underground Railway." Views of Northern statesmen.
		484. Railroad Development.		{ The Erie Railroad. Increase of railroads.
PIERCE'S ADMINIS- TRATION. 1853-57.	{	487. The New President.	{	
		488. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill.		First settlers of the plains. Douglas's bill. Opposition to the bill. Its passage.
		489. The Struggle for Kansas.		Emigrant societies. Immigration to Kansas. Conflicts.
		490. The Republican Party.		{ First principles. Composition of the party.
		491. Our First World's Fair.		
		492. Treaty with Japan.		
BUCHANAN'S ADMINISTRATION. — 1857-61.	{	495. The New President.	{	
		496, 497. The Dred Scott Decision.		Origin of the suit. Appeals and final decision. Results of the decision.
		498. Mormon Insurrection.		
		499. Panic of 1857.		{ Cause. New tariff law.
		500. Lincoln-Douglas Debate.		{ Position of Douglas on Mo. Compromise. His position on the Kansas question. Canvass for Illinois senatorship. Debates of the candidates.
		501. New States.		
		502. Mineral Discoveries.		{ Gold in Colorado. Coal. Silver. Oil wells.

- 503. **John Brown's Raid.** {
 - Brown's plan.
 - Seizure of U. S. arsenal.
 - Capture and execution.
 - Feeling in the South.

- 504-509. **Presidential Campaign of 1860.** {
 - Democratic Convention at Charleston.
 - First split in Democratic party.
 - Constitutional party.
 - Republicans.
 - Second split in Democratic party.
 - Position of the parties on slavery.

- 510. **The Election.** {
 - Vote of the sections.
 - Popular vote.
 - Electoral vote.

- 511. **Sentiment at the South.** {
 - Meaning of Lincoln's election.
 - Action urged.

- 512. **Buchanan's Attitude.** {
 - The president's message.
 - Effect.

- 513. **The Crittenden Compromise.**

- 514, 415. **Secession.** {
 - Action of Legislature of South Carolina.
 - Convention of South Carolina.
 - Action of other Southern states.

- 516, 517. **The Confederate States.** {
 - Organization.
 - Constitution.
 - President and vice-president.

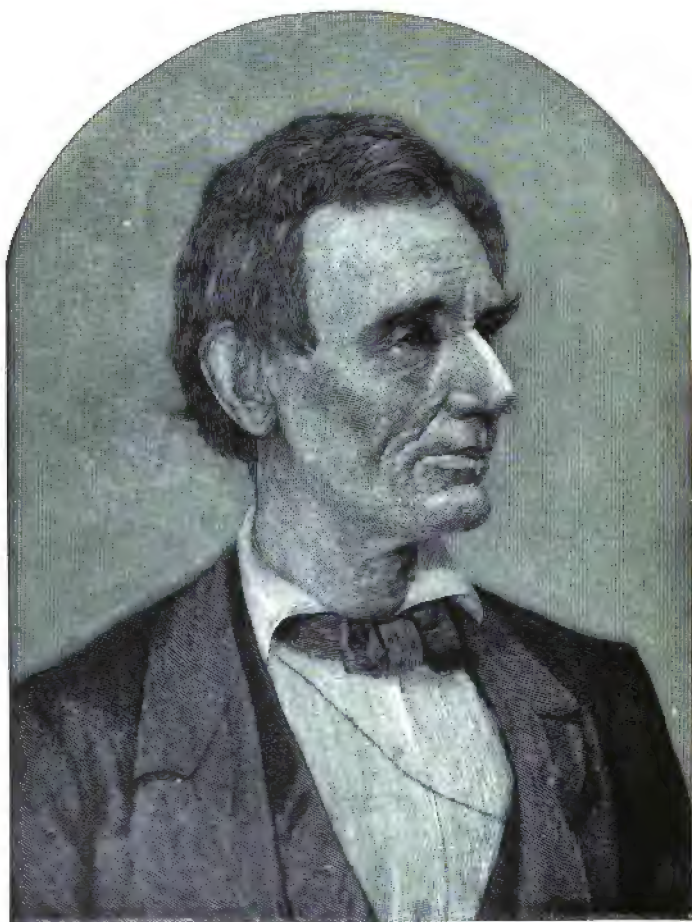
- 518. **The Right of Secession:** Historical view.

- 519, 520. **The Federal Constitution.** {
 - Element of weakness.
 - A "mode of redress" for infractions.

- 521. **Cause of the War.** {
 - Belief of the North.
 - Belief of the South.

- 522. **Before Lincoln's Inauguration.** {
 - Activity in the South.
 - Inactivity in the North.





A. Lincoln

THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION.

1861-1865.

FIRST YEAR OF THE WAR.

525. Services and Character of the New President. —

Abraham Lincoln was born of poor parents, in Kentucky, February 12, 1809. With his parents he removed first to Indiana and afterward to Illinois. Young Lincoln was reared amid the hardships, privations, and heroic energies of our pioneer life. He worked on the farm, cleared land, split rails, as other farm-hands; he was for a time a boatman on the Mississippi River; he served as a private in a war against the Indians; and he was a great reader and student of the few books that a backwoodsman in Illinois could command in those days. By earnest and constant effort he made himself a lawyer. He had served a term in Congress when he met Douglas in the great debate in 1858. Lincoln was a man of heroic mold. Simple, sincere, fearless, he understood the masses of the people, and they gave him sooner or later their deepest respect and fullest confidence. It is not too much to say that Lincoln saved the Union.

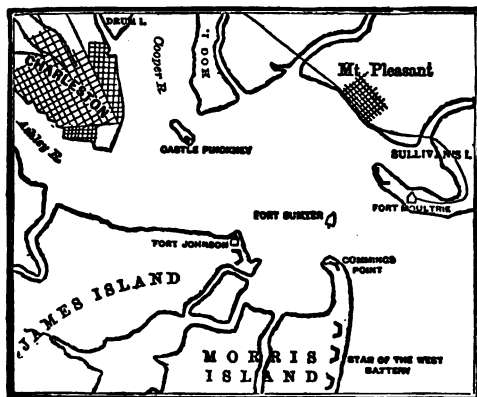
526. The New Administration. —On March 4, 1861, Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated president of the United States. Probably no man ever assumed such an exalted position under more trying circumstances. Seven of the states had cast off all allegiance to the Union. The country was in confusion. There were those who even feared for the life of the president,

and for this reason, he had traveled secretly from Philadelphia to Washington.

His message was a conciliatory one. He appealed to the South to abide by the Union with the assurance that slavery in the states had nothing to fear from him. At the same time he declared secession impossible, and expressed his intention of occupying all federal property in the seceded states and collecting revenues in their ports. To the South this meant war.

527. Federal Property in the South.—The Confederate States claimed all the federal property in the South, on the ground that the states, when they resumed their independence of the United States, had a right to all the federal property within their jurisdiction; and so they had taken possession, as stated above, of all the federal forts, etc., that could be seized without bloodshed.

Commissioners were sent to Washington to treat concerning this federal property in the South. The new administration refused to receive the delegations so sent, because this would



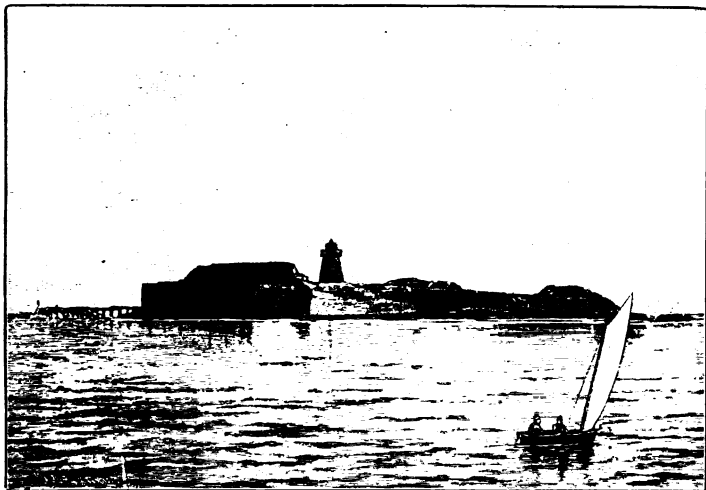
Charleston Harbor.

be recognizing the Confederate States as a foreign power. All attempts to adjust the question peacefully were futile.

528. Fort Sumter.—At the time of South Carolina's secession, Major Anderson was in command of Fort

Moultrie. Soon afterwards he moved over to Fort Sumter, another fort in Charleston Harbor, and a much stronger one.

Buchanan had been unable to decide what to do about Sumter. He would not give it up to the Confederates, and made an ineffectual attempt to supply the garrison with provisions, sending a steamer, *Star of the West*, which was driven away by Confederate cannon. Lincoln determined to provision Fort Sumter and so notified Governor Pickens of South Carolina. The Confederate authorities then ordered General Beauregard



Fort Sumter after Bombardment.

to take possession of the fort. Major Anderson refused to give it up. On April 12, the Confederates opened fire. The fort was reduced to ruins and Major Anderson surrendered. The fire on both sides was incessant for thirty-four hours, yet not a man was killed. Anderson retired with all the honors of war. As he was firing a salute to the United States flag a cannon burst and a soldier was accidentally killed,—the only blood spilt in this famous fight. On April 13, 1861, Sumter fell. The great war had begun.

529. Effect of the Fall of Sumter. — *In the North.* For the first time the North realized that the South was in earnest. Those who had hitherto opposed coercion joined with the administration. Lincoln called for 75,000 troops to suppress the rebellion and enforce the laws. Many times that number volunteered. The whole North became united. Soon afterwards, he declared a blockade of all Southern ports and suspended the writ of *habeas corpus* in certain instances. This was all extra-constitutional, but the urgency of the occasion was held to be sufficient justification.

In the South it was felt that the North had begun the war by sending troops and provisions to garrison Fort Sumter. All opposition was silenced. The invaders must be repelled at any cost. President Davis's call for 35,000 volunteers was met with as great alacrity as was President Lincoln's at the North.

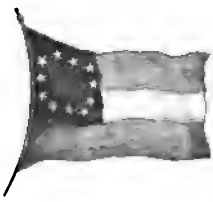
530. In the Border States. — Lincoln's call for troops produced intense excitement in the border states of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Missouri. Four of these, Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee soon joined the Confederacy. The others did not secede, but a large element in each of them sympathized with the South. This sympathy was manifested in Baltimore by an attack made by citizens on some Massachusetts troops who were on their way to Washington. Several were killed on both sides, and here, on April 19, was shed the first blood of the war.

The western portion of Virginia refused to join the state in secession. Its inhabitants separated from Virginia and it was later (1863) admitted into the Union as the State of West Virginia. Kentucky declared that she would neither secede nor join in the war against the Confederacy. In Missouri the majority of the people were opposed to secession, but the state

authorities were in favor of joining the Confederacy and a bitter civil strife ensued.

The Confederacy was greatly strengthened by the accession of the four states mentioned above. Especially did the South rejoice over the secession of Virginia. The capital was removed from Montgomery to Richmond. Troops could be massed near Washington, and Virginia was to furnish to the Southern army some of the ablest generals and bravest soldiers that ever lived.

531. Confidence North and South.—The North had about three times as many people as the South had. Besides this tremendous advantage in numbers, the North was far superior in wealth to the South. All the machine shops, factories, foundries, were in the North, so that whatever was needed in waging war could soon be provided. Yet the Southern people felt confident that the “Stars and Bars” would be victorious. True, they recognized all the advantages that the North possessed; but they reckoned confidently that the world could not long do without Southern cotton. They felt sure that the nations of Europe, whose looms they supplied, would not quietly permit those looms to be hushed. They especially counted on the assistance of France and England. It was believed, too, that the Southern man was a better soldier than the Northerner, because he was accustomed to a rough, outdoor life, and was familiar with the use of fire-arms. The South was full of daring and enthusiasm, while the North was firm, resolute, and undaunted. Each was fully confident of ultimate success.



The Confederate Flag.

532. The South's Line of Defense.—East of the Alleghenies there was a strong line of defense extending from Norfolk around the northern boundaries of Virginia. Here

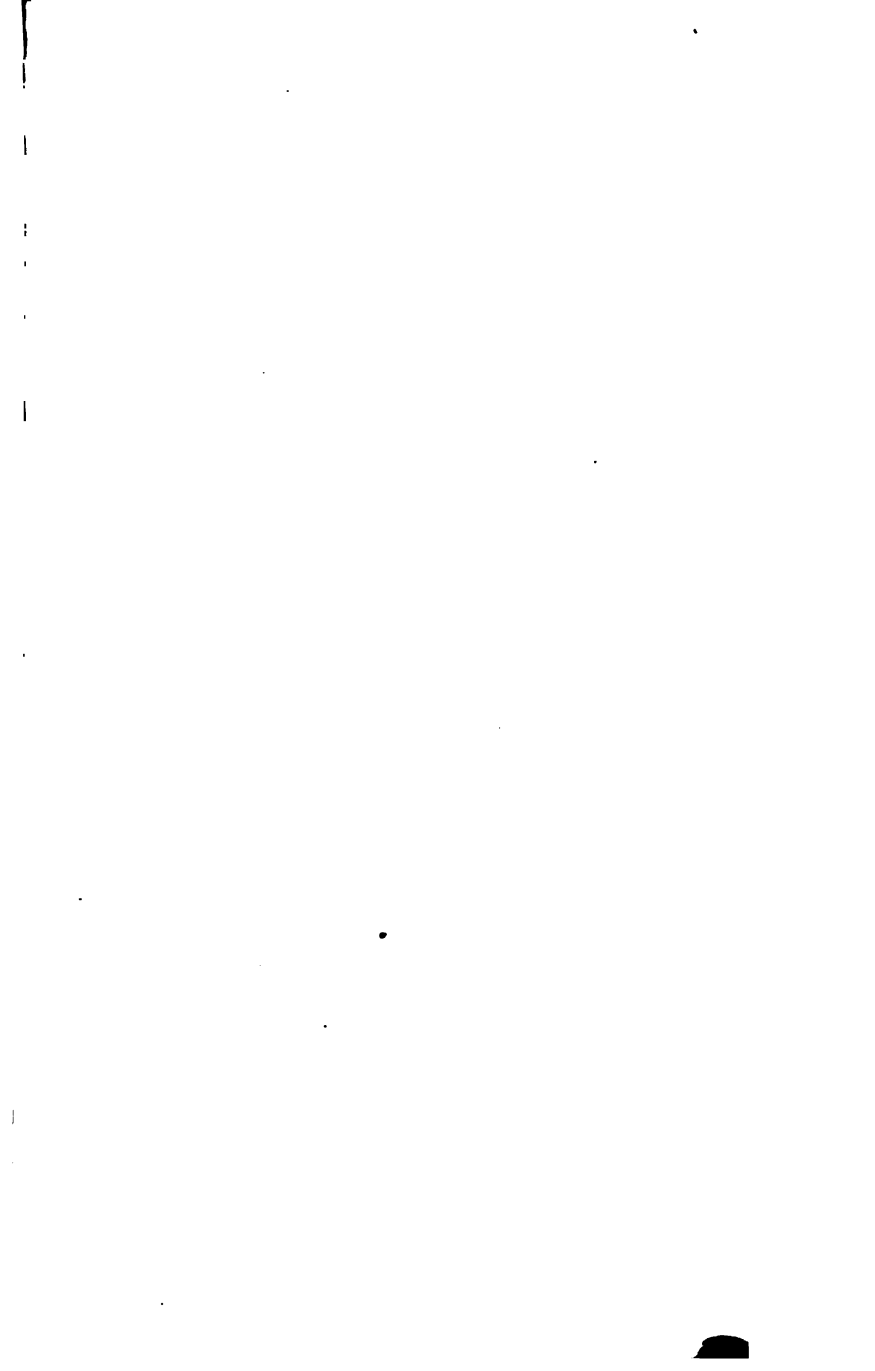
was stationed the Army of Northern Virginia. West of the mountains the Confederates had a strong line of defense extending through southern Kentucky to Columbus on the Mississippi. Their forces occupied Bowling Green and Mill Spring. Fort Henry on the Tennessee, and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland, a distance of twelve miles apart, were two im-

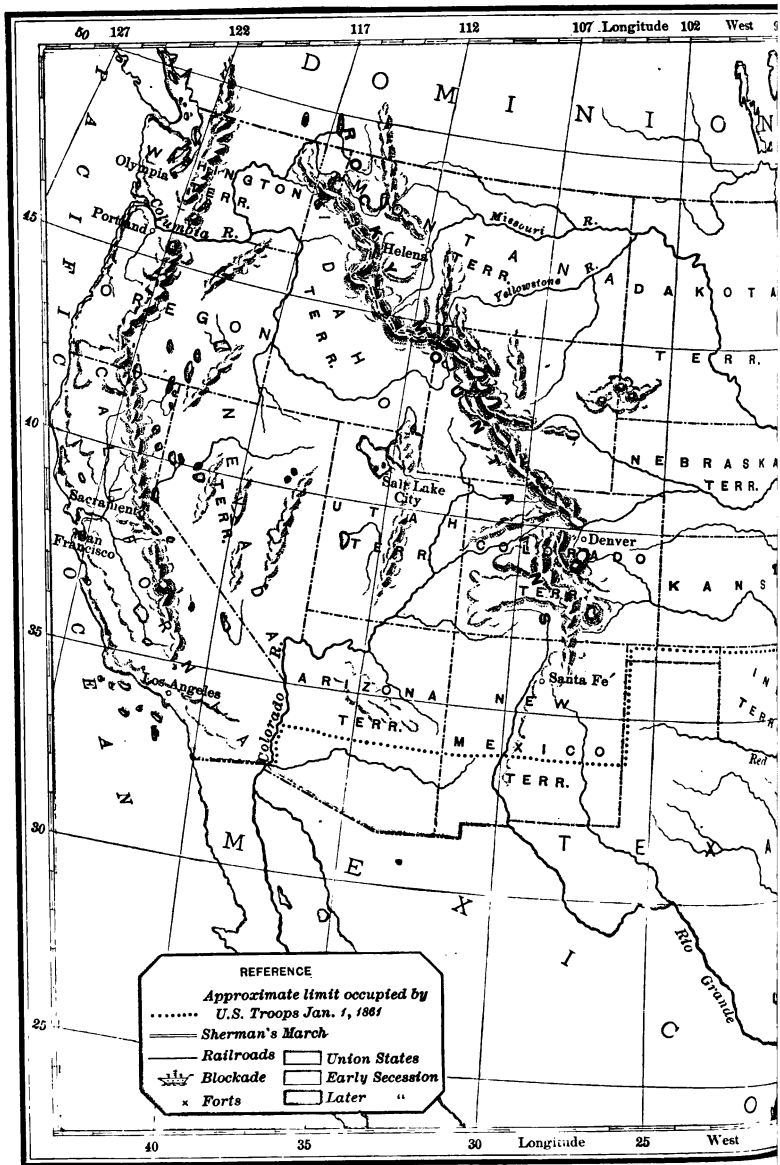


Running the Blockade.

portant Confederate strongholds. The Mississippi River was strongly fortified from its mouth to the northern limit of the Confederate States. The coast line of the seceded states from the Rio Grande to the Potomac was strengthened by the erection of new forts. The Confederacy was fortified on all sides. See double page map.

533. Northern Plan of Operation. — Against these four lines of defense, offensive preparations were made. A blockade







Brady, Daniel, Esq., N. J.



of Southern ports had been declared. This shut out all commercial intercourse with the foreign world. Although at the time the blockade was declared there were no ships with which to enforce it, a navy was soon organized which effectually shut up the South to its own resources.

Opposed to the Army of Northern Virginia, and threatening an attack on Richmond, was the Army of the Potomac. Its purpose was to break through the line of defense and capture the Southern capital. Northern armies were also concentrated against the line of fortifications west of the Cumberland Mountains.

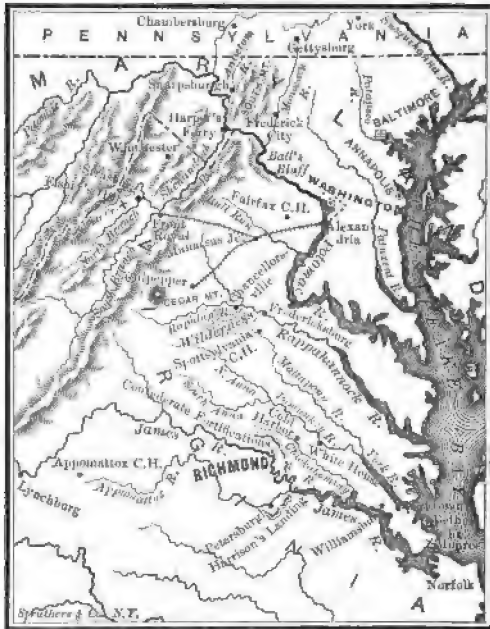
A very important part of the Northern plan was the opening up of the Mississippi River. Loss of control of this great river would not only deprive the South of an important means of transportation, but also divide the Confederacy in twain. The attacks in these four quarters were largely independent of each other, and were made at first without any unity of plan. We will note them as the campaigns in Virginia, in the West, on the Mississippi, and Naval Operations.

534. In West Virginia.— Three months passed after the fall of Fort Sumter before any movement of importance took place. The only conflicts were minor ones in western Virginia, where small bodies of troops were engaged.

Both sides tried to secure possession of this portion of Virginia. The inhabitants generally were Unionists. Several battles, mostly unimportant, were fought. The Union army was commanded by General George B. McClellan, who in this campaign won the name of a successful general. After several engagements, of which that at Rich Mountain was the most important, the Union army got complete possession of West Virginia.

535. On to Richmond; Battle of Bull Run.— President Lincoln had made his first call for volunteers for three months only. It was felt that something must be done. The cry in the North was "On to Richmond." General Scott, the hero

of the Mexican War, now commander-in-chief of the Union forces, ordered General Irvin McDowell, on July 16, to begin the movement from Washington to Richmond. Between the two capitals, the Confederate army, under General Beauregard, lay strongly intrenched at Manassas Junction. West of this



Map of Seat of War in Virginia.

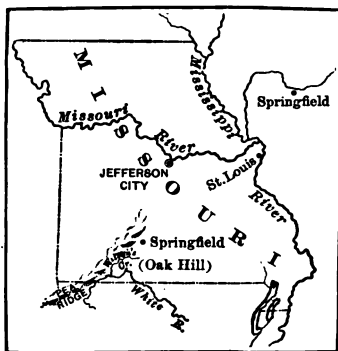
army was another body of troops under the command of General Joseph E. Johnston. General Patterson had been sent to prevent Johnston from uniting his forces with those of Beauregard. On July 21, 1861, General McDowell came upon the Confederates at Bull Run, a small stream near Manassas Junction. A stubbornly fought and bloody battle ensued. At first the Union army gained the advantage, but at

a critical moment, the Confederate army was reënforced by General Johnston. The Union army could not resist the attack, but gave way and fled, panic-stricken, back to Washington.

536. Effect of the Battle. — At the South every one was jubilant. *Te Deums* were echoed from the houses of worship. The impression spread that the war was virtually over; many of the volunteers, under this impression, returned to their homes. In the North a deep sense of humiliation at first prevailed, but this feeling soon gave place to a renewed determination to wipe out the disgrace with victory. After the first feeling of despondency came the conviction that the war was to be a long and desperate struggle. This defeat taught the people of the North that they must prepare for a terrible war, such as the western continent had never seen. Congress voted to call out half a million men. To the North the defeat was a blessing in disguise, while it made the South over-confident.



General Beauregard.



Operations in Missouri.

537. Operations in Missouri.

— Governor Jackson, of Missouri, tried to get his state, in which sentiment was divided, to join the Confederacy. His attempt was frustrated by Nathaniel Lyon, who seized the arsenal at St. Louis to prevent its being used to arm the Confederates, and then broke up the Confederate encampment of Camp Jackson. The governor called for Confederate volunteers and placed General Sterling

Price in command. At first the Confederates were driven back, but being reënforced from Arkansas and Texas, they met and defeated the Union army at Wilson's Creek, in which engagement Lyon lost his life. The Confederates were gradually driven southward, and Missouri was held by the Union forces.

538. Operations on the Coast. — On the sea the South was at a disadvantage. She had no war-ships to break up the blockade. President Davis, in reprisal for the blockade, granted "letters of marque," permitting private vessels sailing under the Confederate flag to prey on the commerce of the United States. A few Confederate vessels were built during the first year, which did immense damage. The two most famous were the *Sumter* and the *Nashville*. Steamers built for swiftness to run the blockade frequently succeeded in carrying out cargoes of cotton and bringing back war supplies and other necessary articles of commerce. During 1861 the Union navy captured the forts of Cape Hatteras and Port Royal, S. C. No important naval engagement took place during this year.

539. The Trent Affair. — The South, as we have already seen (§ 531), hoped for aid from England and France. To endeavor to secure this aid, Mason and Slidell were sent as commissioners to those countries. Running the blockade they reached Havana, and there embarked on an English mail steamer, the *Trent*, for England. This steamer was stopped by the United States sloop-of-war *San Jacinto*, commanded by Captain Wilkes, and the commissioners were taken off as prisoners of war. The North was at first delighted with this capture, but England angrily demanded the release of the prisoners, and began to prepare for war. It seemed that the hope of the Confederacy was to be realized and war between England and the United States would follow. But the war was averted. The Queen and Prince Albert urged pacific measures, and Secretary of State Seward released the prisoners and placed

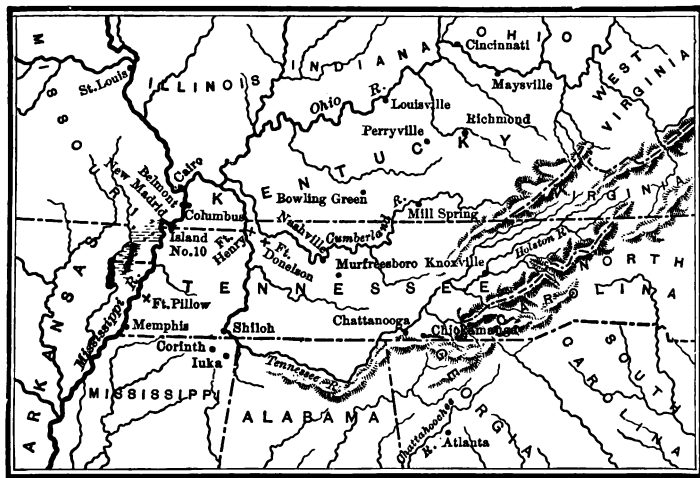
them under British protection. The capture was directly contrary to the principle for which the United States had fought in 1812 — the right of neutrals to be free from search. Secretary Seward won an important diplomatic victory in this transaction, for war with England was averted, and England was committed against the right of search.

540. Summary of the First Year of the War. — In Virginia the Confederates were successful, and won a brilliant victory at Bull Run. In Missouri the Confederates gained a victory at Wilson's Creek, but before the end of the year retired to the extreme South, leaving the state in the hands of the Union soldiers. The navy of the United States was very successful, both in shutting up the ports, making the blockade effectual, and in capturing several important forts.

EVENTS OF 1862.

IN THE WEST.

The Confederate line of defense west of the Cumberland Mountains was under command of Albert Sidney Johnston.



Operations in the West.

Opposed to him was a large force under General Buell, and a smaller one at Cairo, Ill., commanded by General U. S. Grant.

541. Mill Spring. — The Confederate division at Mill Spring was under the command of General Zollicoffer. The army was defeated by a division of Buell's army under General George H. Thomas. General Zollicoffer was killed, and the army was pushed back into Tennessee.

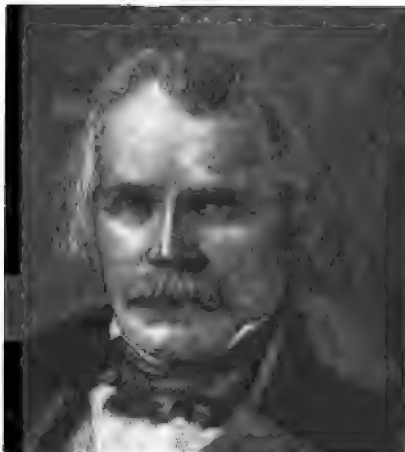
542. Forts Henry and Donelson. — In February, General Grant determined to move against the two forts on the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers. He commenced an over-land march against Fort Henry, assisted by Commodore Foote, who proceeded up the Tennessee River with a fleet of gunboats. Fort Henry was captured by Foote before Grant's arrival, and most of the garrison escaped across the country to Fort Donelson. Grant then moved against Donelson and demanded its "unconditional surrender." The fort was captured (February 16) with over ten thousand prisoners. This victory forced the Confederates to abandon Nashville, and retire southward through Tennessee into Northern Mississippi. It made General Grant famous.

543. Battle of Shiloh. — General Grant moved up the Tennessee River and encamped at Pittsburg Landing, near the boundary line between Mississippi and Tennessee. While he was awaiting Buell's army here, Johnston attacked him before the two armies could unite, and a great battle was fought (April 6) near Shiloh Church. Johnston's attack was successful and Grant was driven back with heavy loss to his gunboats on the river. Unfortunately for the Confederates their great general, Albert Sidney Johnston, was killed in the battle. Buell arrived in the evening with fresh troops, and the Union army outnumbered the Confederates. The battle was resumed the next day, and Beauregard, who had succeeded to the com-



GENERAL GRANT.

mand of the Confederate army, retired to Corinth, an important railway center in northern Mississippi. The losses on each side were about equal, but the Confederates were being driven from their territory. General Halleck took command of the Union forces, and slowly advanced upon Corinth. Beauregard withdrew from Corinth and retreated southward.



General Albert Sidney Johnston.

544. On the Upper Mississippi. — When the Confederates retired from Kentucky, Columbus on the Mississippi and Island No. 10, two Confederate strongholds, were given up. With their withdrawal from Tennessee came the fall of Fort Pillow and Memphis. The Mississippi was thus opened as far as Vicksburg. Kentucky and Tennessee had fallen into the hands of the Union army. Andrew Johnson was appointed military governor of Tennessee.

545. Battle of Pea Ridge. — It had been General Johnston's plan to have the troops west of the Mississippi unite with his forces before any attack was made on the Union army. This was prevented by the Union army under General Curtis. A bloody engagement at Pea Ridge, or Elk Horn, in Arkansas, on March 7, in which the Confederates suffered severe loss, including the gallant Gen. Ben McCulloch, destroyed all hope of reënforcing Johnston, and left Missouri and Arkansas in the hands of the Union army.

546. Bragg's Invasion. — After Beauregard evacuated Corinth he was succeeded by General Bragg, who undertook to invade Tennessee and Kentucky and recover them for the Confederacy. He occupied Chattanooga, and aided by General Kirby Smith penetrated Kentucky to the vicinity of Louisville without much opposition. General Smith's command won a victory at Richmond, Kentucky. Buell, who had been watching Bragg's movements, ran a race with him and got to Louisville first. The battle of Perryville was fought between the two armies on the 8th of October. The Confederates were successful in the fight, but the Union forces were so much stronger in numbers that Bragg retreated to Chattanooga, carrying with him an immense quantity of arms, ammunition and other supplies which he had captured. The Union army took position at Nashville.

547. Iuka and Corinth. — When Bragg moved northward he left a strong Confederate force under Van Dorn and Price to watch Grant, who occupied Corinth. Two of the hottest fights of the war occurred between these armies. At Iuka the Confederates won the day, but their attack on Corinth, though at first successful, ended in defeat (October 4, 1862).

548. Battle of Murfreesboro. — From Chattanooga the Confederate army moved toward Nashville, entrenching themselves at Murfreesboro. The army advanced from its entrenchments to meet the Union army, which was now commanded by General W. S. Rosecrans. The armies were equally matched (about 40,000 each), and here on the last day of the year, 1862, began one of the bloodiest battles of the war. It lasted three days, neither side gaining a victory. The Union losses were somewhat heavier, and when Bragg retired a few miles distant Rosecrans did not care to follow him. Both armies went into winter quarters.

549. On the Lower Mississippi. — We have seen (§ 533) that it was an important part of the plan of conquering the South that it should be deprived of the control of the Mississippi river. We have also seen (§ 544) that the upper Mississippi had been opened as far as Vicksburg. It had also been opened below Vicksburg. New Orleans was a place of much importance to the Confederacy, as it guarded the mouth of the Mississippi river. Though the city itself was in a defenseless condition, approach to it was almost impossible. Below the city were the two strong forts, Jackson and Phillips, on opposite sides of the river, ready with their heavy guns to fire upon any attacking fleet. Across the Mississippi a great raft had been stretched consisting of logs 40 feet long, bound together by heavy chains, placed three feet apart. About one-third of the raft having been broken away by drift-wood, eight schooners had been anchored in the opening made and they were also bound together by immense chains. Between this defense and the city was a strong Confederate fleet with fire-rafts ready to set fire to the enemy's vessels. In February Commodore David G. Farragut sailed from Hampton Roads, Virginia, with 15,000 troops, under command of General Benjamin F. Butler, to capture New Orleans. For a week Farragut bombarded the forts without success. He then conceived the daring plan of running the gauntlet to the city. In the darkness of night the chains were broken and a passage was made for his vessels. Under terrific cannonade they steamed by the forts, destroyed the Confederate fleet and captured the city. Fort Jackson and Fort Phillips surrendered soon after. The largest city in the Confederacy was at the mercy of Benjamin F. Butler, whose course as its military governor caused its people and the entire South to detest his name.

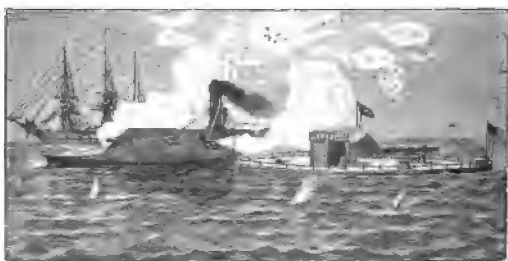
By the capture of New Orleans the Mississippi river was almost opened to the Union vessels. The Confederates still held strong forts at Vicksburg and Fort Hudson, and continued to hold them during this year.

IN THE EAST.

OPERATIONS ON THE SEA.

559. The Monitor and the Merrimac. — For the first time in the history of the world vessels covered with iron were to be used in naval warfare. England and France had built iron-clads, but they had never been tested in battle. The Confederates raised the frigate *Merrimac*, which had been sunk when the Federal navy-yard at Norfolk was abandoned, and refitted it as an iron-clad ram. When finished, this vessel, rechristened the *Virginia*, presented a very formidable appearance. Cannon balls rebounded harmless from her sides. On March 8 she left the port, steamed into Hampton Roads (at the mouth of the James), and played havoc with the powerful Union fleet lying there. The *Cumberland* was sunk, the *Congress* was burnt, and the other ships driven into the shoals or flight. Consternation spread in the North, where it was feared that the new iron-clad would attack her great sea-ports. Even Washington itself would be at the mercy of the monster.

While the *Merrimac* was being iron-plated, John Ericsson had been busy at New York inventing and constructing a tur-



The Monitor and the Merrimac.

ret ship, named the *Monitor*. It was a small, flat craft, much smaller than the *Virginia*, and very much less exposed to the enemy's fire, and it carried in a revolving turret two such enor-

mous guns that they would shoot heavier balls than had ever been used in war. Such was the hurry to get it to Hampton Roads that the *Monitor* had not been tested, and little was known of its real merit. It reached Hampton Roads in the night, and took up a position behind the *Minnesota*. Early the next morning when the *Virginia* steamed forth to complete her work of destruction, she was unexpectedly confronted by her little iron opponent. Four hours of desperate combat proved that the *Virginia* had met her match. It was impossible for her to accomplish her purpose of destroying the rest of the fleet. Neither could the *Monitor* inflict any serious damage upon the *Virginia*. The *Virginia* returned to Norfolk and never appeared again, but was destroyed by the Confederates when Norfolk was captured by the Federals. At the end of the year the *Monitor* foundered off Cape Hatteras.

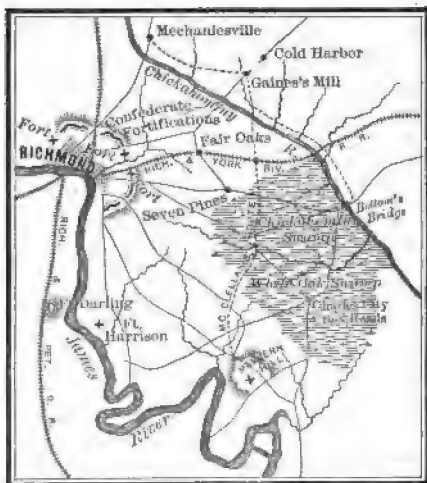
This day's battle revolutionized naval warfare. Both the Confederate and United States governments began the construction of iron-clad vessels, and the navies of all foreign powers had to be reconstructed.

The Union navy was successful in many places along the coast. At the end of the year only two large sea-port towns on the Atlantic coast, Charleston and Wilmington, were preserved to the Confederacy. The blockade became more and more effectual as the places to be guarded decreased in number.

OPERATIONS IN VIRGINIA.

551. Advance toward Richmond: The Peninsular Campaign. — McClellan, who, on account of his successes in West Virginia, had been called to take command of the Northern army, had spent the winter of 1861-2 in drilling his men and preparing for an advance on Richmond. Instead of pursuing the plan of the previous year he decided to sail down the Potomac and Chesapeake Bay, and, landing at Fortress Monroe,

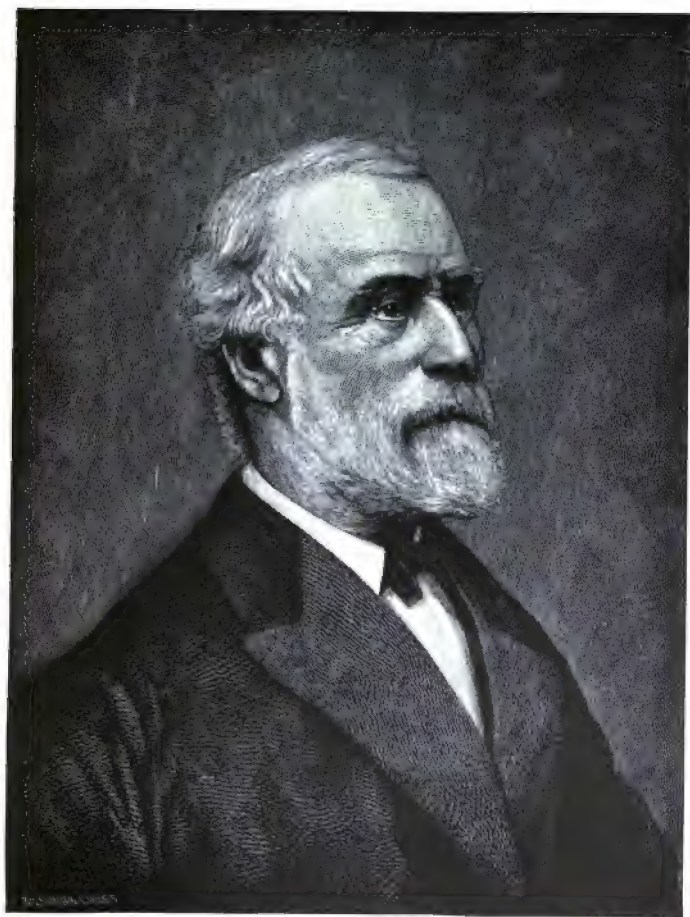
to approach the Confederate capital by way of the peninsula between the James and the York Rivers. After a month's siege, early in May, Yorktown on the Peninsula was evacuated. Johnston withdrew before the superior forces of McClellan.



At Williamsburg an indecisive engagement took place. McClellan continued to advance. Richmond was at the same time threatened by McDowell from Fredericksburg, and by Union gun-boats on the James River. In order that when a junction with McDowell was made, an army might still be between the Confederate army and Washington, McClellan

threw a part of his forces across the Chickahominy River. While the river was in a swollen condition, separating the two divisions, Johnston attacked that part of the army which was on the south side of the Chickahominy. In this battle, called Seven Pines, or Fair Oaks, McClellan barely escaped a complete rout. Johnston was severely wounded in the battle, and had to withdraw from the command. He was succeeded by General Robert E. Lee, who commanded the army of Virginia until the close of the war.

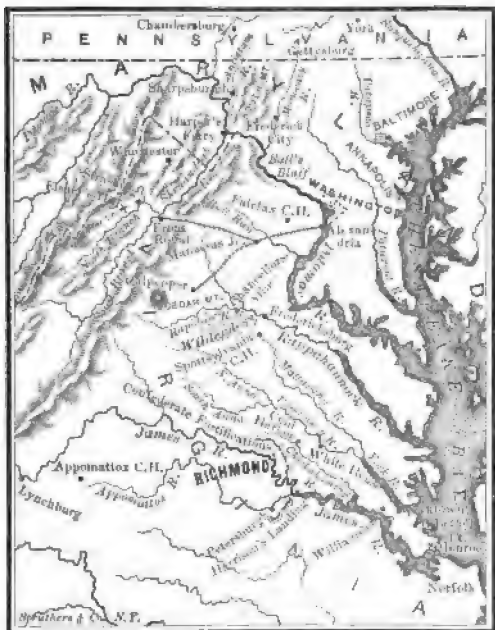
552. "Stonewall" Jackson's Valley Campaign. — McClellan had expected to be reënforced by McDowell. To prevent this General T. J. Jackson, who had won the name of "Stonewall" by the sturdy resistance of his command to the



GENERAL LEE.



Federal charges at Bull Run, undertook to clear the Shenandoah Valley of Federal troops and even to threaten Washington. The campaign was one of the most brilliant in history. Concealing his plans even from his own officers, in forty days he marched his army of 15,000 men nearly 400 miles, attacked and defeated in succession four bodies of troops commanded



Eastern Virginia and the Shenandoah Valley.

by Shields, Milroy, Banks, and Fremont, aggregating three times his own force. Washington was thought to be in danger, and McDowell, instead of reënforcing McClellan, was called back and kept there to protect it from Jackson. Having secured this result Jackson left the valley region and had united his forces with Lee's before his adversaries knew what he was about. Meanwhile, General J. E. B. Stuart had made

his famous cavalry ride around McClellan's army, doing much damage and greatly interfering with that commander's plans.

553. The Seven Days' Battles. — When McClellan found that he could not expect to be reënforced by McDowell he began to change his base from the York to the James River. Lee began to attack on the 26th of June and for seven days the fighting was incessant. The Confederates won a series of victories at Mechanicsville, Gaines' Mill, Savage Station, Frazer's Farm and White Oak Swamp, and they were repulsed with heavy loss at Malvern Hill. McClellan finally reached the protection of his gun-boats on the James River, and began to reorganize his discomfited forces. His troops were recalled to Washington, and the so-called Peninsular Campaign ended in failure. (Map, p. 364.)

554. Pope in Command. Second Battle of Bull Run. — The forces around Washington were organized and united under the name of the Army of Virginia, and General John Pope, who had won considerable reputation in the capture of Island No. 10 on the Mississippi, was put in command. McClellan's forces were ordered to unite with him. Pope chose the overland route against Richmond. While McClellan was withdrawing his forces and Lee was guarding Richmond from the Peninsula, Jackson was sent to check Pope. He defeated Pope's right wing at Cedar Mountain. As McClellan's command joined Pope, Lee's army was drawn forward to resist the united enemy. On August 30, Lee and Jackson attacked the combined Federal forces at the old battle-ground of Bull Run. In this second battle of Manassas Pope's army was utterly defeated, and driven headlong into Washington. The combined Union forces around Washington were again placed in command of McClellan.

555. First Invasion of the North; Battle of Antietam or Sharpsburg. — Lee determined to invade the North. He

crossed into Maryland and occupied Frederick City, north of Washington, threatening both Baltimore and Philadelphia. McClellan moved forward to intercept his march and Lee turned to the northwest. On the way Jackson captured Harper's Ferry with 12,000 Federal troops and large military stores. McClellan hastened after Lee and overtook him at Sharpsburg on Antietam Creek. Here on September 17 was fought one of the bloodiest battles of the war. Lee's army numbered about 50,000 and McClellan's nearly twice as many. Each side lost nearly 15,000 men without either gaining the victory. Lee, unable to defeat McClellan, who was continually receiving reinforcements, had to abandon his invasion of the North, and retire across the Potomac into West Virginia. The Federal government, again dissatisfied with McClellan, put General Ambrose E. Burnside in command of the Army of the Potomac.

556. Battle of Fredericksburg. — Burnside chose to march upon Richmond by way of Fredericksburg, hoping to reach that place before Lee. His army now numbered about 125,000, about twice as many men as Lee had. Crossing the Rappahannock, he found that Lee had fortified himself at Fredericksburg. The Federal army attacked (December 13) and were repulsed with heavy loss, — over 12,000 men, more than twice as many as the Confederates lost. Burnside withdrew across the Rappahannock and was superseded by General Joe Hooker. The two armies lay facing each other without any engagement until spring.

557. Emancipation Proclamation. — President Lincoln had announced that the war was not against slavery, but to maintain the Union. Accordingly when the Union generals conquered slave territory and wished to declare the slaves therein free, he forbade them. Slaves were becoming more and more useful to the Confederates as teamsters, builders of

earth-works, etc. General Butler declared that they were subject to capture as any other property, and accordingly claimed them as "contraband of war."

The president had recommended to Congress to appropriate money to purchase the slaves of loyal masters. But the congressmen from the slave states which had not seceded opposed this policy and it was not adopted. At last Lincoln decided that slavery must be abolished. He reached this conclusion early in the year 1862, but did not announce it until September. The Confederates had been very successful in Virginia, and such a proclamation would create the impression that the North was in a critical condition and grasping at straws. The battle of Antietam, though a drawn battle, was claimed as a Union victory because Lee withdrew from Maryland. Lincoln seized the opportunity. He issued a preliminary proclamation declaring that after January 1, 1863, all the slaves in that part of the Union then in arms against the United States government would be set free. No attention was paid to the announcement, and accordingly on January 1, 1863, he issued the famous Proclamation of Emancipation. This proclamation did not apply to the Union states, nor to those portions of the Confederacy which were then under Federal control (§§ 534, 544, 545).

558. Summary of Events of 1862. — *In the East.* The Army of the Potomac, a large and thoroughly drilled force, was put under the command of General McClellan. He attempted to reach Richmond from the south-east by way of the Peninsula. Washington was protected meanwhile by an army under McDowell. Johnston, the Confederate leader, slowly withdrew towards Richmond. He was wounded at Seven Pines, and was succeeded by General R. E. Lee. To prevent McClellan from receiving assistance from McDowell, Jackson was sent up the Shenandoah Valley.

McDowell was thus forced to retire to Washington to protect that city. Jackson then quickly rejoined Lee and aided him in the Seven Days' Battles. McClellan was forced to abandon his advance on Richmond.

The authorities at Washington, dissatisfied with McClellan, ordered him to unite his forces with those of Pope, who had been given charge of the

army. Lee sent Jackson against Pope's army, which was defeated by him at Cedar Mountain. In the Second Battle of Manassas Pope's army was completely overthrown. Lee seized the opportunity to invade the North. McClellan was sent after him, and after the battle of Sharpsburg, or Antietam, Lee withdrew into northwest Virginia to recruit his army. The Union army was then given to Burnside, who endeavored to place his army between Lee and Richmond. At Fredericksburg he found himself confronted by the Southern army and was defeated. He was superseded by General Hooker. Thus three campaigns against Richmond ended in failure.

In the West. The Confederates were driven out of Kentucky, and after the capture of Fort Donelson by Grant, Tennessee also was lost to them. General A. S. Johnston was killed at Shiloh in the moment of victory: Beauregard, who succeeded him, retreated south to Corinth. Followed by the Union army he abandoned that place. The Southern army was given to Bragg, who invaded Kentucky, and managed to elude Buell and escape safely back to Chattanooga. The Union army was given to General Rosecrans, and on the last day of the year the two armies met in the bloody and indecisive battle of Murfreesboro.

Union forces gained possession of the Mississippi above Vicksburg, and captured the city of New Orleans. This was also a year of great naval battles. The fight between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* revolutionized naval warfare, introducing iron-clad war-vessels.

Charleston, Wilmington, and Mobile were the only seaboard towns still held by the Confederacy.

SYNCHRONAL CHART FOR 1862.

	<i>East.</i>	<i>West.</i>	<i>On Miss.</i>	<i>Seaboard.</i>
Jan. 19.		Mill Spring.		
Feb. 6.		Fort Henry.		
Feb. 8.				Roanoke Is-
Feb. 16.		Fort Donelson.		land.
Mar. 8.		Pea Ridge.		<i>Monitor</i> and
Mar. 9.				<i>Merrimac.</i>
Apr. 6-7.		Shiloh.		
Apr. 7.			Island No. 10.	
Apr. 11.				Fort Pulaski.

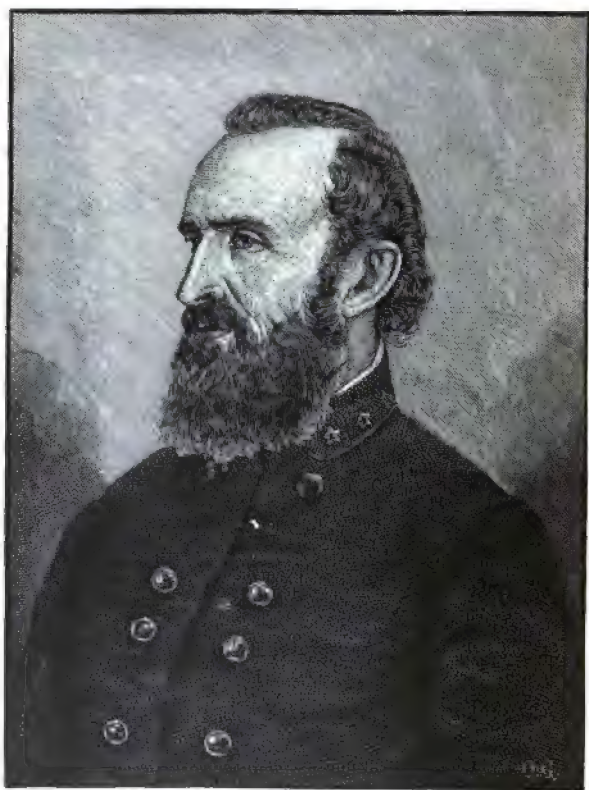
SYNCHRONAL CHART FOR 1862.— *Continued.*

	<i>East.</i>	<i>West.</i>	<i>On Miss.</i>	<i>Seaboard.</i>
Apr. 25.			New Orleans.	
May 4.	Yorktown, Va.			
May 5.	Williamsburg.			
May 30.		Corinth.		
May 31.	Fair Oaks.			
June.	Jackson's Campaign.			
June.	Stuart's Raid.			
June 26 to July 1.	Seven Days' Battles.			
Aug. 9.	Cedar Moun- tain.			
Aug. 30.	Second Battle of Bull Run.			
Sept. 15.	Harper's Ferry.			
Sept. 17.	Antietam.	Richmond, Ky.		
Sept. 19.		Iuka.		
Oct. 3.		Corinth.		
Oct. 7.		Perryville.		
Dec. 29.	Fredericksburg			
Dec. 31.		Murfreesboro.		

EVENTS OF 1863.*IN THE EAST.*

559. Chancellorsville.— In the spring of 1863, Hooker crossed the Rappahannock to recommence the movement against Richmond. His army, numbering over 100,000 men, was more than double that of Lee. The result of this movement was the battles around Chancellorsville (May 2 and 3). Jackson, by a flank movement, completely crushed the right wing of Hooker's army. Lee by skillful and brilliant generalship followed up this advantage, and Hooker's fine army was





GENERAL JACKSON.

defeated and forced back across the Rappahannock (map, p. 365). In this engagement the Union army lost about 25,000 men, — more than double the Confederate loss. But Lee lost one whose place was harder to fill than the thousands of the Union slain. New soldiers could be drafted, but the loss of “Stonewall” Jackson to the South was irreparable. In the darkness of night, he and a small party of Confederates were mistaken for enemies by his own men and fired upon. Jackson was mortally wounded, and after eight days’ illness passed away.

560. Lee’s Second Invasion of the North. — After his brilliant victories around Chancellorsville, Lee felt strong enough to assume the aggressive. Again he began an invasion of the North. With an army of 70,000 men he hurried northward, passing Washington on the west, and entered Pennsylvania. The Union army of 100,000 men hurriedly gathered to protect Washington and keep between Lee and the city. Philadelphia was threatened. Consternation spread in the North at the imminent danger.

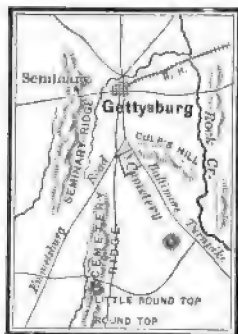
561. Battle of Gettysburg. — Just on the eve of the meeting of the two armies, General Hooker was superseded by General Meade, who commanded the Union forces in the great battle which followed. Meade took



General Meade.

position at Gettysburg in the way of Lee’s march on Philadelphia. Meade, with his superior forces, was strongly entrenched. Lee attacked his position with great fury for

three days, July 1, 2, and 3; 160,000 men were engaged in this battle, and the combined loss of the two armies was nearly 50,000 men. At the close of the second day the advantage lay



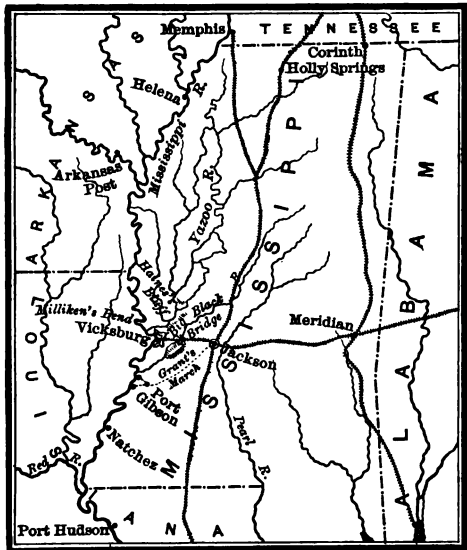
with the Confederates. Part of the lines had been carried, but the Union forces still held their ground. On the 3d of July came the last desperate assault upon the Union lines. The heavy cannonading which had lasted two hours suddenly died away, and forward went the long, magnificent line into the very jaws of death. The heroism of this charge has never been surpassed. Pickett's division of Virginia soldiers led.

They were met by men equally stern and unyielding, and the ranks of the brave Confederates melted away under the terrific fire. President Lincoln, when shown afterward the position held by the Union forces and attacked by the Confederates, said, "I am proud to be the countryman of the men who assailed those heights." But the charge had failed, and Lee and the superb army of northern Virginia had been checked. The courage of the North revived, and disaffection toward the Confederate government began to be expressed in the South. This battle was the turning-point of the war. It was impossible for the South to replace the 20,000 brave veterans who had been lost in the battle of Gettysburg. With one-third of his army destroyed, Lee began his retreat to Virginia. He was followed—at a safe distance—by the Union army as far as the Rapidan River. Here the two armies remained during the rest of the year, and this was their position when Grant assumed command the following year.

ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

562. Fall of Vicksburg.— While the important events, the battle of Chancellorsville and the invasion of the North, were occupying the attention of the forces in the East, Grant was busily preparing plans for the capture of Vicksburg. His army was stationed at Holly Springs in northern Mississippi. Grant made several attempts to gain possession of Vicksburg, all of which were unsuccessful. In one of these he attempted

to change the course of the Mississippi River by digging a canal across a great bend. This would have left Vicksburg off of the Mississippi River. His attempt was unsuccessful. Finally he hit upon a plan. Against the protest of his assistant, General Sherman, he decided to attack Vicksburg from the south. By a daring movement the gunboats were run past the city,



and Grant himself moved down the west side of the river, and crossed the Mississippi in his gunboats. He pushed on to Jackson, Mississippi, thus preventing Johnston from coming to the aid of Vicksburg. Pemberton, who commanded the Confederate army near Vicksburg, retreated within his fortifications. Grant, after two unsuccessful attacks, determined to lay

siege to the place, and starve the people into surrender. After a month's siege, the people being almost famished, Pemberton, seeing no chance of success or relief, surrendered to General Grant. The surrender of Vicksburg was a heavy blow to the Confederacy. Over 30,000 prisoners were captured; large stores of fire-arms and ammunition, so much needed by the South, fell into the hands of the Federals; the Mississippi was practically in the hands of the Union army. Vicksburg fell on the very day that Lee began his retreat from Pennsylvania, July 4, the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. Five days later Port Hudson surrendered to General Banks's army, and the control of the Mississippi passed into the hands of the Federal Government. The Confederacy was thus divided by Federal armies, and assistance from beyond the Mississippi was cut off.¹

563. On the Coast of Texas. — The efforts of the Union forces to gain a foothold on the soil of Texas were unsuccessful until the latter part of 1863. Galveston was occupied by them during the summer of 1862, but General Magruder recaptured the city on the first day of January, 1863, after a spirited contest in which two Federal vessels were destroyed. After the capture of Port Hudson, Banks sent a strong detachment by sea to take Sabine Pass, and invade Texas from the South. The attack on Sabine Pass was repulsed with heavy loss by a small body of Confederates,² and the attempt was abandoned. Corpus Christi and Brownsville were afterward occupied by Banks.

¹ General John Morgan, with four thousand Confederate cavalry, made a raid in July, 1863, through Tennessee and Kentucky, into Indiana and Ohio, causing great excitement. He was finally captured and imprisoned.

² Forty-two men, under Dowling and Smith.

IN THE WEST.

564. Battle of Chickamauga. — After the battle of Murfreesboro, which had begun on the last day of 1862, and lasted through the first two days of 1863, the armies had long remained inactive. The Confederate General Bragg had withdrawn his forces, leaving the Union army under Rosecrans in possession of Murfreesboro. For six months nothing was done on either side. In June, General Rosecrans began a forward movement, Bragg retiring before him. Chattanooga thus fell into the hands of the Union army. Bragg had halted at Chickamauga, in northwest Georgia, twelve miles from Chattanooga. Here he was reënforced by troops from Lee's army, under General Longstreet, and by Johnston from Mississippi. On September 19 an attack was begun by the Union army. The result of the first day's battle was indecisive. On the second day Rosecrans's forces were divided, and his right wing was completely routed, and retreated to Chattanooga. The left wing, under General George H. Thomas, the "Rock of Chickamauga," made a magnificent resistance and saved the Union army from overwhelming defeat. Thomas retreated to Chattanooga, and Bragg began a siege of that place.

565. Siege of Chattanooga. — Rosecrans's army was completely shut off from outside communications, and his capture seemed certain. Bragg had his forces strongly posted in the apparently impregnable positions on Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. So sure was he of his success that he sent part of his forces, under Longstreet, against Burnside, who was at Knoxville. After the capture of Vicksburg Grant was put in charge of all the armies in the West. He collected forces from all the armies, and went to the relief of Chattanooga. General Hooker also brought forces from the Army of the Potomac.

566. Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. — In order to relieve Chattanooga, Grant determined to take the Confederate positions on Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. To take Bragg's position, half a mile up the mountain "above the clouds," seemed impossible. On November 24 Lookout Mountain was stormed and captured; on the following day the Confederate forces were driven from Missionary Ridge. Bragg retreated to Dalton, Ga., and the command of the army was turned over to General Johnston. Equally unsuccessful was General Longstreet against Burnside. An attack on Knoxville had been disastrously repulsed. General Grant hastened to Burnside's assistance, and Longstreet crossed into Virginia and rejoined Lee.

567. Conscription Act. — The war had lasted so long that it became necessary to force men into service on both sides by Conscription Acts. This was bitterly opposed in some parts of the North where opposition to the war was strong. The opposition culminated in what is known as the *Draft Riot* in New York City. This riot began on July 13, and for three days the city was in the hands of the mob. Their hatred of negroes was manifested by attacks upon them and by the burning of an orphan asylum for colored children. Governor Seymour tried to pacify the mob, but was unable to do so. About 100 people were killed. Finally the police, assisted by troops, quelled the disturbance, and order was restored. The drafting of soldiers was a failure, and its only success lay in encouraging voluntary enlistment. The spirit of opposition to the war was so strong in the North that in August President Lincoln suspended the writ of *habeas corpus*. The successes at Vicksburg and Gettysburg tended, however, to arrest disaffection and create sentiment in favor of the administration policy.

568. West Virginia. — In June of this year West Virginia was admitted into the Union. As before stated (§ 530), the

people in the western part of the State of Virginia refused to side with their state in the passage of the secession ordinance, and organized a Legislature. The Constitution provides that a state cannot be divided without the consent of the state Legislature, and so this Legislature claimed to be the only one in Virginia. The state was divided by them, and in June the western part was admitted into the Union under the name of West Virginia.

569. Summary of Events of 1863. — The year 1863 was the turning-point of the war. The Mississippi had completely fallen into the hands of the United States by the capture of Vicksburg and Port Hudson.

In the East, Hooker had commenced operations by trying to march around the west of Fredericksburg and upon Richmond. He met disastrous defeat at Chancellorsville. Lee then invaded the North, reaching south Pennsylvania. Hooker followed him until superseded by Meade. The latter stationed himself in the Southern general's path at Gettysburg and Lee could not dislodge him. This forced the abandonment of the Northern invasion.

In the West, Rosecrans had marched upon Bragg, who thereupon evacuated Chattanooga. He was overtaken, but turned and defeated Rosecrans at Chickamauga. The Union army retreated to Chattanooga and was closely besieged. Their ultimate surrender seemed certain. Grant, who had on July 4 captured Vicksburg, came to Rosecrans's relief. Sherman and Hooker also brought assistance. Bragg was defeated and resigned his command. His army was given to General J. E. Johnston.

The same day that Lee began his retreat from Pennsylvania Vicksburg surrendered to Grant. Thenceforth the South was wholly on the defensive, and was gradually exhausting her strength.

Let the pupil prepare a Synchronal Chart for 1863, similar to the one on page 369.

EVENTS OF 1864.

570. Minor Movements. — The two important campaigns of 1864 did not begin till May. Up to this time some less important movements must engage our attention.

Florida was invaded by a Union army to reclaim it for the Union, but the Federals were defeated at Ocean Pond.

General Sherman advanced from Vicksburg, Miss., to capture Mobile. He tore up railroad and telegraph communications around Meridian, and thus prevented any assistance to the Southern army from the west, and cut off the Confederate army in northern Georgia from a good basis of supplies. The cavalry which he expected to assist him was met and defeated by *General Forrest*. Sherman, after inflicting considerable damage, returned to Vicksburg. Forrest, after driving the Union cavalry back to Memphis, continued his raid. He attacked Paducah, Ky., but was unsuccessful. He turned southward into Tennessee and captured Fort Pillow, manned principally by negro troops. Most of them were killed. The *Red River expedition* under General Banks resulted in complete failure on the Union part. This expedition was to capture Shreveport, and conquer the rest of Louisiana. Banks was so thoroughly beaten by an inferior force under General Dick Taylor at Mansfield (Sabine Cross Roads) and Pleasant Hill that he was glad to get back to New Orleans. The gunboats which accompanied Banks's army were barely rescued.

571. Grant Made Lieutenant-General. — This was the situation of affairs when Grant completed his plans for the campaign which was to close the war. His uniform successes in the West during 1863 had won the confidence of the Federal authorities. In the spring of 1864 the office of Lieutenant-General was revived and given to Grant. All the Union forces in America, amounting to nearly one million men, were put under his direction. The total Confederate forces numbered at this time less than one-third of the Union forces in the field. Besides, the Confederacy had no means of increasing its army. The Union, by its bounty system, was drawing soldiers from Europe.

572. Grant's Plan. — Two movements were planned against the Confederacy — the capture of Atlanta and the capture of

Richmond. Grant left Sherman to march against Atlanta, while he himself assumed command of the Army of the Potomac. The troops on both sides were principally massed into two large armies. The one under Sherman, numbering 100,000 men, was to oppose the Confederates under J. E. Johnston with 70,000 troops. Grant's immense army of 175,000 soldiers was to "hammer" away at Lee's army of about one-third the size. The movements were to be simultaneous and continuous, so as to prevent Johnston and Lee from rendering aid to each other. During the first week of May both Sherman and Grant began their forward movements. Let us first follow Grant's attack on Richmond.

IN THE EAST.

573. Grant's Plans against Richmond. — In his movement against the Confederate capital Grant chose the direct overland route. For the purpose he took 100,000 men, leaving a reserve force of 40,000 upon which to draw. He also organized two minor expeditions, — one under General Butler and another under Generals Crook and Sigel. Butler was sent with 30,000 troops to ascend the James river, attack Petersburg, and threaten Richmond from the south. Crook and Sigel were sent to capture Lynchburg and threaten the Confederate capital from the west. (See map, p. 365.)

574. Lee versus Grant. — Grant began his forward movement on the 5th of May, and entered the Wilderness south of the Rappahannock. Lee met him behind his entrenchments, and attempted during the succeeding month, with consummate skill, to thwart the forward movement of Grant. On May 5, 6, and 7 the bloody battles in the Wilderness were fought. Grant continued to force Lee slowly back by sending troops around his flank. Beginning on the 9th, four days' severe and bloody encounters took place at Spottsylvania Court-house. Grant

continued his movement around Lee's left till the latter had to fall back to his entrenchments around Richmond. He attacked the Confederates at Cold Harbor, but was severely beaten, and gave up the attempt to storm Lee's position. There had been continuous fighting for a month, and yet Grant had been unable to break through Lee's line. On the contrary, Lee could not hope to drive the Union army back, but could only act on the defensive. The loss on both sides had been terrific. During the march from the Rapidan to the fortifications around Richmond, the Union loss was not less than 60,000 men, equal in number to Lee's entire army. The Confederates had also lost a large number, a loss deeply felt, for it was growing more and more difficult to replace the men.

575. Butler's Movements. — Butler had made his way up the James river and landed below Petersburg on the peninsula formed by the confluence of the James and the Appomattox rivers. Beauregard, learning of this contemplated assault on Petersburg, had hastened into Virginia to oppose him. He erected fortifications across the peninsula from river to river, and thus effectually "bottled up" Butler at Bermuda Hundreds on the peninsula.

576. The Movement against Lynchburg; Early and Sheridan in the Valley. — General Sigel was met and defeated by General Breckenridge at New Market. Sigel's command was then given to Butler, who, with Crook's forces, was again defeated and driven from the Shenandoah Valley. Lee, in the hope of distracting Grant's attention from Richmond, had sent General Early through the Shenandoah Valley into Maryland to threaten Washington. Early was detained at Monocacy, where he met and routed the Federal forces which opposed him. By the time he reached Washington he found it too strong for him to capture. He captured provisions for the army and began his return to Lee. As soon as Grant heard

of the danger in which Washington stood he despatched General Sheridan against General Early. On the 19th of September Early was defeated at Winchester. A month later Early attacked the Federal forces during Sheridan's absence and routed them. Sheridan met his fleeing forces, turned them, and routed the Confederates. Grant afterward ordered Sheridan to lay waste the beautiful Shenandoah Valley. It is still an unsettled question whether military necessity could justify such wanton and wholesale destruction of private property as Sheridan's men inflicted (§ 589).

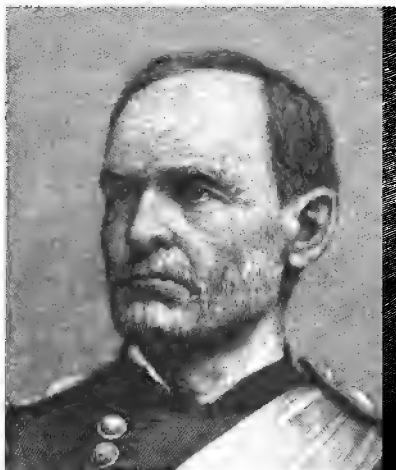
577. Grant's Change of Base. — Finding that he would be unable to take the fortifications around Richmond, Grant determined to change the basis of his operations to the James River. He moved his army to this new position, thus threatening the fortifications around Petersburg, which is twenty miles south of Richmond. Lee had a continuous line of fortifications about thirty miles in length surrounding Petersburg and Richmond. Lee's army still numbered about 60,000, while Grant was besieging him with over twice that number. By pushing towards the southwest Grant forced Lee to lengthen this line of fortifications, and thus weaken his line of defense. Lee lacked forces to man his fortifications.

578. The Petersburg Mine. — On July 30, much to the surprise of the Confederates, the breastworks around Petersburg were hurled into the air, and a break made in the line of defense. Into this breach in the fortifications, making a crater in the ground, Union troops were poured. They but rushed to a slaughter-pit, for over 4000 lost their lives, and no entrance into Petersburg was made. This attempt to blow up the fortifications by exploding four tons of gunpowder under them resulted disastrously to the Federals, and did but little damage to the Confederates.

Grant saw that he could not take the fortifications by storm, and he began the siege, which lasted nine months. During the remainder of the year 1864 nothing more of importance occurred in the East.

IN THE WEST.

579. Sherman and Johnston. — About the same time that Grant crossed the Rapidan and began his advance upon Lee, Sherman commenced his march to Atlanta. He was opposed by Johnston with a force little more than half as large as his



General Sherman.

own. No regular engagement took place. Johnston adopted the "Fabian policy" of retreating till a favorable moment for resistance should occur. This policy was a successful one, and Sherman found his march to Atlanta very difficult. He continually attempted to pass around Johnston's army, thus compelling him to fall back to a new position. Various encounters took place between the two armies, but

no set battle was fought. Johnston would select his ground and at an opportune moment would strike the advancing hosts. He made a stand at Resaca. Again on May 25, 26, and 27, the armies encountered each other near Dallas. The most severe encounter was at Kenesaw Mountain. Here Sherman's assault was severely repulsed. Gradually the wily Confederate chieftain fell back to his fortifications around Atlanta. At last he determined to engage the forces of Sherman. Sherman's loss had been considerably more than Johnston's.

580. Hood in Command.—At this critical point in the campaign Johnston was superseded by General John B. Hood. Instead of awaiting the attack as Johnston had intended, Hood determined to make an attack himself. Hood's forces were inferior in numbers to Sherman's, and his repeated assaults were severely repulsed. The Confederates could ill afford the loss they suffered. On the last day of August Hood was forced to evacuate the city, and on the 2d of September it fell into the hands of General Sherman. The loss of Atlanta was a heavy blow to the Confederacy. Here were stationed their machine shops and stores of war munitions.



General J. E. Johnston.



General Thomas.

581. Hood in Tennessee.—After his evacuation of Atlanta Hood moved northward, hoping to draw Sherman after him. The Union army followed a short distance. Then a detachment under General Thomas, equal in number to Hood's depleted army, was sent after the Confederates. These forces

Hood met at Franklin and drove from the field. Next he besieged Thomas at Nashville. On December 15 and 16,

Thomas came out and gave him battle and utterly defeated the Confederate army. One of the two strong Confederate armies was broken up. It never was completely re-united.

582. Sherman's March to the Sea. — After sending Thomas after Hood, Sherman returned to Atlanta. This place he burned. He then set out upon his march to the



General Hood.

sea. His army, numbering 60,000 men, cut a swath through Georgia sixty miles wide. No efficient force lay before — nothing to stop him in his forward march. He cut loose from all communications with the North, and for a month nothing was heard from him. His army carried devastation into the rich country hitherto free from soldiery. The railroads were all destroyed. After

an eight days' siege Savannah was captured on December 28. Sherman here reopened communications with the North, telegraphing to President Lincoln that he gave him Savannah as a Christmas gift.

583. On the Coast and Sea. — In the summer of this year a stop was put to blockade running in Mobile. Admiral Farragut with his fleet attacked the two forts guarding the entrance, and captured them. He also captured the Confederate iron-clad, the *Tennessee*.

The *Alabama*, built the year before, was sunk in a combat off the coast of France. The *Alabama* was in the port of Cher-

bourg, France. While there Semmes, her captain, offered battle to the Federal steamer *Kearsarge*, and in an hour and a half the *Alabama* had sunk.

The Confederate cruiser *Florida* was illegally captured while in a neutral port in Brazil. Before any steps were taken in regard to it, the vessel was sunk by a collision with a United States vessel in Hampton Roads.

584. Negro Troops. — The Union authorities now began to enlist negroes in the service. This movement aroused prejudice at the North, and caused great indignation in the South. The South had not recognized the slaves as free, and consequently when the negro troops were taken as prisoners, they refused to exchange them as prisoners of war. A general stoppage of exchange was the result. By this time the South was shut in to her own resources, and her people were suffering from want. They were unable to furnish even themselves with necessary provisions.

Under these circumstances, the suffering of those Union soldiers who were imprisoned at Andersonville, Ga., and at Richmond, Va., was very great. Necessarily prisoners shared such privation as the blockade made common throughout the South.

585. Presidential Campaign of 1864. — Much dissatisfaction had arisen in the North over the long-continued war. Many were weary of the struggle and desired peace. The Democratic convention declared openly its hostility to the war, pronouncing it a failure. They put in nomination General McClellan for the presidency, who secured a large popular vote. Opportune Union victories gave renewed confidence in Lincoln, who was reelected. Andrew Johnson, the war governor of Tennessee, was elected vice-president.

586. Summary of Events of 1864. — The campaign had been opened in May by forward movements in the East under Grant and in the West under Sherman. In his advance against Richmond, Grant had fought the battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, and Cold Harbor. Lee was finally driven inside his fortifications, and the siege of Petersburg began.

In the West Sherman had been skillfully opposed by Johnston, who was gradually forced to fall back to Atlanta. Here Johnston was superseded by Hood. Atlanta was captured and Hood retreated into Tennessee. He was followed by General Thomas and his army was almost totally destroyed at Nashville. Sherman continued his march southward and just before Christmas had reached Savannah.

CONCLUSION OF THE WAR (1865).

587. Sherman's March through the Carolinas. — In February, 1865, Sherman left Savannah, and began his march northward to join Grant. He had been ordered to transport his army by sea, but finding this impracticable, he marched overland through the State of South Carolina, which was looked upon in the North as the "hotbed of the rebellion." Much destruction marked his path. The beautiful city of Columbia, the capital of the state, was burned while Sherman's army was occupying it. Unopposed by any obstacle save such as nature offered, Sherman continued his onward movement, clearly demonstrating the fact that the Confederacy was but a shell which he had penetrated.

588. Johnston Recalled. — Meanwhile Johnston had been recalled, and gathering what scattered remnants of the old army he could find, with the garrisons of Charleston and other coast cities which had been evacuated at Sherman's approach, he placed himself in front of Sherman with a force of about 40,000 men. Sherman was vigorously and almost successfully attacked at Goldsboro, N. C., on March 19. Finally Johnston was driven back to Raleigh. Here the two armies rested, awaiting the result in Virginia.

589. Sheridan's Raid.— General Sheridan, with his cavalry, moved southward up the Shenandoah Valley, carrying destruction with him. His object was to cut off Lee's base of supplies from the West and South by ravaging the country and destroying railroad connections. He managed to endanger Lee's position seriously. He then rejoined Grant around Richmond.

590. Evacuation of Richmond and Surrender of Lee.— Grant had been gradually extending his army around Richmond, thereby lengthening and, at the same time, weakening Lee's line of defense. By sudden attacks Lee gained some unimportant successes. At last the line was lengthened too much and broke in twain. Grant, with his 200,000 men, was able to force the 45,000 men under Lee to leave their position. On the last day of March the assault upon the Confederate line began. For three days the attacks were nobly met, and then Lee, realizing that he could not resist another attack, on April 2, evacuated his position and began his retreat toward the southwest. Grant pursued vigorously, giving the Confederates no time for rest. The army was famished. Lee's forward movement was stopped at Appomattox Court House by Union forces under Sheridan. Grant was behind him. Surrounded on all sides by overwhelming forces, he surrendered, April 9, his less than 10,000 muskets. Liberal terms were granted, the soldiers being permitted to return home after giving their oath not to enlist again in the war till exchanged.¹

591. Assassination of President Lincoln.— Five days after Lee's surrender the world was shocked by the assassination of President Lincoln. He was shot in his box at Ford's Theater

¹ After the close of the war General Lee, declining several advantageous business propositions, became the president of Washington College in Virginia. He died there in 1871, beloved by the people whom he had served so well, and respected throughout the world. His character resembles that of Washington.

in Washington, on the evening of April 14, by John Wilkes Booth, a famous actor. Booth seems to have thought that the death of the president and members of his cabinet (Secretary Seward was stabbed, but not fatally, in his own house on the same evening) would paralyze the government and give the South another chance. He crept up behind the president, who was in the midst of his family and friends, and shot him through the head. He then leaped upon the stage, exclaiming "Sic semper tyrannis" ("Thus ever to tyrants"). Although the assassin fell and broke a leg, he escaped from the theater and fled into Virginia, where he was shortly afterward overtaken and, as he refused to surrender, put to death. The assassination was a part of a conspiracy which was ferreted out. The conspirators were captured, tried, and convicted, four to be hanged, and four to serve long terms of imprisonment. Booth was probably insane. His crime was viewed with horror in the South as well as in the North. The tragic death of Lincoln was a terrible misfortune to the whole country, and most of all to the South, but it did not stop the wheels of government. Vice-President Johnson became president within three hours after Lincoln had passed away.

592. Surrender of Johnston; Close of the War.—After Lee's surrender, Johnston and Sherman agreed upon terms of surrender for the former's army. These terms were rejected by President Johnson and his cabinet as too liberal. No doubt this was due to the North's being enraged at the assassination of President Lincoln. Johnston surrendered to Sherman, April 26, upon the same terms as had been accorded to Lee. The surrender of all Southern forces followed. General Kirby Smith surrendered the Confederate forces west of the Mississippi May 26. The last battle of the war was at Boco Chico, Texas, May 12. The Confederates won the fight. The war was at an end. The South had worn herself out fighting

against overwhelming odds both in numbers and material resources. President Davis was captured in Georgia on the 10th of May. After being kept in prison for two years he was finally released on bail without trial.¹

THE WAR ENDED.

593. Numbers Engaged.— On July 1, 1861, the Union army numbered 186,000 men. Six months later it had increased to nearly six hundred thousand. The increase continued until more than a million men were under arms at a time. The entire number of men enrolled in the Union armies during the four years was 2,650,000.

The Confederates never had so many troops in the field as the Federals, and toward the close of the war the number grew to be very much smaller. The numbers were about as 10 to 9 in 1861; in 1862 they were as 10 to 6; in 1863, as 10 to 7; in 1864, as 10 to 4, and in January, 1865, as 10 to 2. The entire white male population of the South, in 1860, was about 2,800,000. Of this number not more than one in three would make an able-bodied soldier. Probably about 900,000 men altogether were enrolled in the Confederate armies during the four years.

594. Losses: In Men.— The Union armies lost by deaths during the war about 360,000 men. The loss of the Confederates is not known, but it may have amounted to a quarter of a million. Many more on both sides incurred wounds or diseases which either killed them afterward or disabled them for life. It is probable that the war cost the country *three quarters of a million of its best men.*

¹ His remaining years were spent chiefly at his home in Mississippi. He died on December 6, 1889, honored and beloved by the devoted people whose chosen leader he had been.

595. Losses : In Money. — The money cost of the war is estimated by careful students at \$9,000,000,000. The National debt in August, 1865, reached the enormous sum of \$2,845,907,626.26. It has not been paid off yet, — thirty years after the close of the contest. The amount paid for pensions to Union soldiers seems likely to reach \$2,000,000,000. Besides what the general government spent, the states and municipalities poured out freely vast amounts to help preserve the Union.

But the South suffered most. The abolition of slavery meant, to the white people of the South, the destruction of \$2,000,000,000 of their property. The property destroyed by both armies was tremendous. Thousands of homes were burned, cities were destroyed, railroads were torn up, and all the notes and bonds¹ issued by the states, as well as the Confederate government, were made worthless by the failure of the Confederacy.

WHAT THE WAR SETTLED.

596. (I) Slavery. — The people of the North did not begin the war to destroy slavery, but to preserve the Union. The Crittenden Resolution, which was proposed at the beginning of the war, expressed the feeling of the great masses of the people in the Northern states. Its language was as follows : “The war is not waged in any spirit of oppression, or for the purpose of conquest or subjugation, or the overthrowing or the interfering with the rights or established institutions of the states ; but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several states unimpaired.” It further declared that “as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease.” President Lincoln at first ordered the Union commanders not to interfere with slavery.

¹ See Constitution, Amendment XIV.

When the slaves were declared free in Missouri by General Fremont in 1861, and in Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina in 1862 by General Hunter, the president countermanded the proclamations. General B. F. Butler, as before stated (§ 557), solved the problem of what to do with the slaves when they were captured by the Federal forces by declaring them "contraband of war," inasmuch as they were property used by the South to assist in providing support, working on the fortifications, etc.

In 1862, when the war was going against the Union, President Lincoln decided upon the emancipation of the slaves as a war measure, but he did not wish emancipation to seem a last resort, and so he waited until a success should crown the Union armies before making the proclamation. He afterwards said, "I made a solemn vow to God that if General Lee was driven back from Maryland I would crown the result by the declaration of freedom to the slaves." After the drawn battle of Antietam, Lee retired from Maryland to Virginia. Five days later (September 22, 1862), the first emancipation proclamation was issued by Lincoln. By it the seceded states were warned that the slaves would be set free in all the states that were not under Union authority by January 1, 1863. No seceded state returned to the Union and on the date named the final proclamation was issued (§ 557). The State of Tennessee and a portion of Louisiana were under Union authority when the emancipation act went into effect, and so the slaves were not set free in this territory at that time. The president intended that slaves residing in territory subject to Union authority should be paid for by the government, but it was never done.

The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, abolishing slavery, proposed by Congress in February, 1865, was declared adopted in December of the same year. Thus the slavery question, which had poisoned the civil life of the country for many years, was settled forever by making the Union "all free."

597. (2) The Right of Secession. — The South believed in the right of secession. It appealed to the sword in defense of its belief. The North held to the doctrine that the Union was indestructible, and took up arms to enforce its belief. The North won and so it was settled by force that no state can leave the Union.

The war was one of conquest. The differences in development and institutions had made two different peoples, almost two different nations, of the North and the South. The war wiped out the differences and re-united the sections.

598. The Armies Disbanded. — The Union armies were reviewed at Washington by the president in May and nearly a million men were paid off and sent to their homes. The regular army was reduced to 50,000 men. The soldiers, proud of success, turned to the pursuits of peace, finding their country prospering as never before.

The case was far different with the Southern soldiers. "Ragged, half-starved, heavy-hearted," they went back to begin anew and build up a new South.¹

¹ The following description of the South's desolation at the close of the War between the States is not overdrawn. "Think of him as ragged, half-starved, heavy-hearted, enfeebled by want and wounds; having fought to exhaustion, he surrenders his gun, wrings the hands of his comrades in silence, and lifting his tear-stained and pallid face for the last time to the graves that dot the old Virginia hills, pulls his gray cap over his brow and begins the slow and painful journey. What does he find — let me ask you who went to your homes eager to find, in the welcome you had justly earned, full payment for four years' sacrifice — what does he find when, having followed the battle-stained cross against overwhelming odds, dreading death not half so much as surrender, he reaches the home he left so prosperous and beautiful? He finds his house in ruins, his farm devastated, his slaves free, his stock killed, his barn empty, his trade destroyed, his money worthless; his social system, feudal in its magnificence, swept away; his people without law or legal status; his comrades slain, and the burdens of others heavy on his shoulders. Crushed by defeat, his very traditions gone; without money, credit, employment, material training; and besides all this, confronted with the gravest problem that ever met human intelligence — the establishing of a status for the vast body of his liberated slaves. "What does he do, — this hero

599. Summary of Last Year of the War.—Sherman, leaving Savannah, marched northward to join Grant, leaving destruction in his path. In North Carolina he was ineffectually opposed by an army under Joseph E. Johnston. The Shenandoah Valley in Virginia was laid waste by Sheridan's troops. Lee was compelled by Grant's superior forces to evacuate Petersburg and Richmond. On April 9, at Appomattox Court House, a few miles southwest of Richmond, Lee accepted terms of surrender for his army. On April 14 President Lincoln was assassinated in a Washington theater, and Vice-President Johnson became president. Within the next two months the armies of Joseph E. Johnston and all other Southern forces surrendered. Probably three and a half million men were enrolled in the armies on both sides during the war, one-fourth of these in Southern armies. The war cost the lives of three-quarters of a million men, and nine billion dollars in money and property. As results of the war, slavery was abolished, secession was forever forbidden, and the North and South were in the end more closely united.

600. Thought Questions. — What did the South consider the first act of the war? What did the North consider the first act? Why did South Carolina insist on the surrender of Fort Sumter? Why did President Lincoln refuse to agree to its surrender? What principle was the South fighting for? The North? Was there any advantage to the South in the fact that the war was waged in her territory? What disadvantages resulted to her from this? Copy and fill out the following table:

	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864 and 1865.
UNION VICTORIES.				
CONFEDERATE VICTORIES.				

in gray with a heart of gold? Does he sit down in sullenness and despair? Not for a day. Surely God, who had stripped him of his prosperity, inspired him in his adversity. As ruin was never before so overwhelming, never was restoration swifter. The soldier stepped from the trenches into the furrow; horses that had faced Federal guns marched before the plow, and fields that ran red with human blood in April were green with the harvest in June; women reared in luxury cut up their dresses and made breeches for their husbands, and, with a patience and heroism that fit women always as a garment, gave their hands to work. There was little bitterness in all this. Cheerfulness and frankness prevailed." — H. W. GRADY, before the New England Society.

In what year was the South most successful? What was the turning-point of the war? What results might have followed if McDowell had defeated the Southern army at Bull Run? What injury to the South did the slaves have it in their power to inflict during the war? What does their conduct prove? What were the causes of the greater suffering in the South than in the North? What do you consider the two most important battles fought east of the Alleghanies? West of the Alleghanies? Who, in your opinion, were the two ablest Southern generals? The two ablest Northern generals? Enumerate the evils wrought by the war. The benefits that resulted from it.

TOPICAL ANALYSIS (WAR BETWEEN THE STATES).

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION (First Year of the War).

525. **The New President.**

526. **Beginning of the Administration.** { Condition of the country.
The president's position.

527. **Federal Property in the South.** { Claim of the states.
Ambassadors sent to Washington.

528. **Fort Sumter.** { Action of U. S. government.
Capture of the fort.

529, 530. **Effect of the Fall of Sumter.** { In the North.
In the South.
In the border states.

531. **Confidence North and South:** Elements of strength.

532. **The South's Line of Defense.** { East of the Alleghanies.
West of the Alleghanies.
On the Mississippi.
The coast line.

533. **Northern Plan of Operations:** Plans against the South's defenses.

534. **In West Virginia.** { Minor engagements.
Union success.

535, 536. **The First Battle.** { "On to Richmond."
The opposing forces.
Victory at Bull Run.
Effect of the battle.

537. **In Missouri.** { Defeat of Gov. Jackson's plans.
Battle of Wilson's Creek.
Federals in control.

538. **On the Coast.** { Privateers.
Blockade runners.

539. **The Trent Affair.**

Second Year of the War.	IN THE WEST.	541, 542. Kentucky and Tennessee seized.	{ Mill Spring. Forts Henry and Donelson.
		543. Battle of Shiloh.	
		544. The Upper Mississippi: Fall of Confederate strongholds.	
		545. West of the Mississippi: Battle of Pea Ridge	
		546. Bragg's Invasion of Tennessee and Kentucky.	
		547. In Northern Mississippi: Iuka and Corinth.	
		548. Bragg's Second Movement: Murfreesboro.	
		549. The Lower Mississippi.	{ The defenses of New Orleans. The Union attack. The fall of the city.
		550. On the Sea: Monitor and Merrimac.	
		551-553. The Peninsular Campaign.	{ McClellan against Richmond. Jackson's Valley campaign. The seven days' battles.
Third Year of the War.	IN THE EAST.	554. Pope against Richmond: Second Bull Run.	
		555. Lee's Invasion of the North: Antietam.	
		556. Burnside against Richmond: Fredericksburg.	
		557. Emancipation Proclamation.	
	IN THE WEST.	559. Hooker against Richmond: Chancellorsville.	
		560, 561. Lee's Second Invasion of the North: Gettysburg.	
		562. Fall of Vicksburg.	
		563. Movements in Texas.	
		564-566. Around Chattanooga.	{ Chickamauga. Siege of Chattanooga. Lookout Mt. and Missionary Ridge.
		567. The Conscription Act: Draft Riot in New York.	
		568. West Virginia Admitted to the Union.	
		571, 572. Lieutenant-General Grant.	{ His promotion. His plan.
		573. Grant's Plans against Richmond.	
		574. Lee versus Grant.	{ The Wilderness. Spottsylvania Court House. Cold Harbor. Results.
Fourth Year of the War.	IN THE EAST.	575. Butler's Movements: On James River.	
		576. The Shenandoah Valley.	{ Sigel's defeat. Butler's defeat.
		577. Grant's Change of Base.	{ Early's campaign.
		578. The Petersburg Mine.	

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| Fourth Year of the War.
(Continued.) | IN THE WEST. | 570. Minor Movements. { Sherman and Forrest. | |
| | | | { Banks's Red River Expedition. |
| | | 579, 580. Campaign against Atlanta. { Sherman and Johnston. | |
| | | | { Sherman and Hood. |
| | | 581. Hood in Tennessee: Franklin, Nashville. | |
| | | 582. Sherman's March to the Sea. | |
| | Conclusion of the War. | 583. On Coast and Sea. { Port of Mobile closed. | |
| | | | { Alabama and Kearsarge. |
| | | | { The Florida. |
| | | 584. Negro Troops. | |
| 585. Presidential Campaign of 1864. | | | |
| 587, 588. Sherman in the Carolinas. { March of devastation. | | | |
| | | { Opposed by Johnston. | |
| 589. Sheridan's Raid. | | | |
| 590. Evacuation of Richmond and Surrender of Lee. | | | |
| 591. Assassination of Lincoln. | | | |
| 592. Surrender of Johnston: Close of War. | | | |
| 593. Numbers engaged in the War. | | | |
| 594, 595. Losses. { In Men. | | | |
| | | { In Money. | |
| | 596, 597. What the War Settled. { Slavery. | | |
| | | { Right of Secession. | |
| | 598. The Armies Disbanded. | | |

THE STATES REUNITED.

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD.

(JOHNSON, GRANT.)

JOHNSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

One Term: 1865-1869.

601. Services and Character of the New President:

Andrew Johnson was born in North Carolina in 1808, and removed in 1826 to Tennessee. He was a tailor by trade, but was drawn early in life to take a deep interest in politics. He is said to have been taught reading and writing by his wife after marriage. He served his adopted state for many years in various positions. He was congressman for ten years, 1843-1853, governor for four years, 1853-1857, and he was twice chosen U. S. senator. His death in 1875 interrupted his second term as senator. Johnson was a devoted friend to the Union, and at the same time a firm believer in states' rights. He was bold to the point of rashness, stubborn in the maintenance of what he believed to be right, and so aggressive as to provoke rather than conciliate opposition.



Andrew Johnson.

602. Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction. — Long before the war closed Lincoln had devised a plan for restoring the seceded states to their places in the Union. In his message

to Congress in 1863 he outlined the following policy: all who would take an oath to support the Constitution were to be allowed to vote; if they numbered ten per cent of the voting population of 1860, they could reorganize a state government. If he had lived there is little doubt that he would have been strong enough to carry out his plan, and that the Southern states would have been speedily restored to the Union.

603. Johnson's Political Position.—In electing Johnson vice-president the Republicans made a mistake similar to that made by the Whigs in 1840 (§ 455). Before the war he had been a Democrat, but he refused to give up his seat in Congress when his state, Tennessee, seceded, because he believed secession to be the work of the aristocratic element, which he thoroughly hated. He was placed upon the ticket with Lincoln in recognition of the Southerners who had been loyal to the Union, and not because he was a Republican. Johnson had been very vindictive in his utterances against the Southern leaders, and claimed that the majority of the people had been misled by them. He desired that the conquered states might be at once restored to the Union. He proclaimed amnesty to all except a few classes to whom pardon was to be granted only upon personal application. He wished, as Lincoln had done, to restore peace as soon as possible. He declared that reconstruction was the work of the president, not Congress. His plan was to turn the states over at once to the people, trusting them to manage their own affairs. In conformity with his proclamation, all the seceded states formed new state governments and elected representatives to Congress,—but when Congress met in 1865 it ignored the president's plan, and refused to recognize the Southern representatives. The "Radicals" had a large majority in Congress, and easily passed measures over the president's veto, thus rendering him powerless.

604. Congress's Plan of Reconstruction. — A resolution was passed in Congress that "the seceded states have, by their own actions, temporarily lost their right of self-government, and it is the duty of Congress to restore it to them under such conditions as will secure to each state a republican form of government, as provided for in the Constitution." The conditions were embodied in the 14th amendment to the Constitution, which gave citizenship to the negroes and disfranchised most of the prominent whites of the South. Tennessee was the only Southern state that ratified the amendment at this time, and it was restored to the Union in July, 1866. The other states defied Congress by rejecting the amendment. By act of Congress then the ten states were divided into five military districts, under the control of Federal officers. This bill, and others like it, were passed over the president's veto.

605. Distrust of the President. — The Thirty-ninth Congress adjourned March 4. Under the law the next Congress would not meet until the first Monday in December. Johnson was so distrusted by the Radicals that they feared to leave him without a Congress for so long a time, and so, before their adjournment, they changed the time of meeting of the Fortieth Congress to March 4, thus allowing no *interim* between the sessions of the old Congress and the new one. This session, however, lasted but one month and adjourned.¹

606. Readmission of the States. — The Southern states, at last, seeing that Johnson was powerless to help them, and finding their position under military rule hard to bear, complied with the demands of Congress and ratified the 14th amendment, which was declared adopted in 1868. By June, 1868, all the states had acquiesced in the demands of Congress except Georgia, Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas. Before the

¹ It held a short session in July (3d to 20th) and then adjourned to November.

close of 1870 those states had also regained their places in the Union.

607. The Result of Reconstruction Policy. — The “reconstructed” state governments were altogether unsatisfactory to the white people of the South. The “iron-clad” oath, which required every candidate for office to swear that he had not taken any part in secession, excluded nearly all who were fit to hold offices. A swarm of greedy and mostly unprincipled men from the North — the “carpet-baggers”¹ — poured into the South, and, by misleading the ignorant and credulous negro voters, got control of the state and local governments. Extravagance and corruption in public affairs became the order of the day. This was the darkest time in the history of the South. The “carpet-bag” governors were able to keep their places only with the help of Federal troops, and this was not wholly withdrawn until 1877.

608. Impeachment. — To make the president as helpless as possible Congress passed the “Tenure of Office” bill, providing that the president could not remove any of the leading officials, his appointees, without the consent of Congress.

President Johnson considered the bill unconstitutional, and refused to submit. Overruling the action of the Senate he removed Stanton from his position of secretary of war.² In consequence of this, and other similar acts of opposition to Con-

¹ Called “carpet-baggers,” because at first, moneyless and with no permanent home, all their effects were carried in a valise, or “carpet-bag.”

² “For the first time in the history of the United States an officer distasteful to the president, and personally distrusted and disliked by him, was forced upon him as one of his confidential advisers in the administration of the government. . . . The history of every preceding administration, and of every subsequent administration of the Federal government, proves that the Senate was in the wrong.” (Blaine’s “Twenty Years in Congress.”)

When Grant became president this bill was practically set aside at his request; and in 1885 it was entirely repealed.

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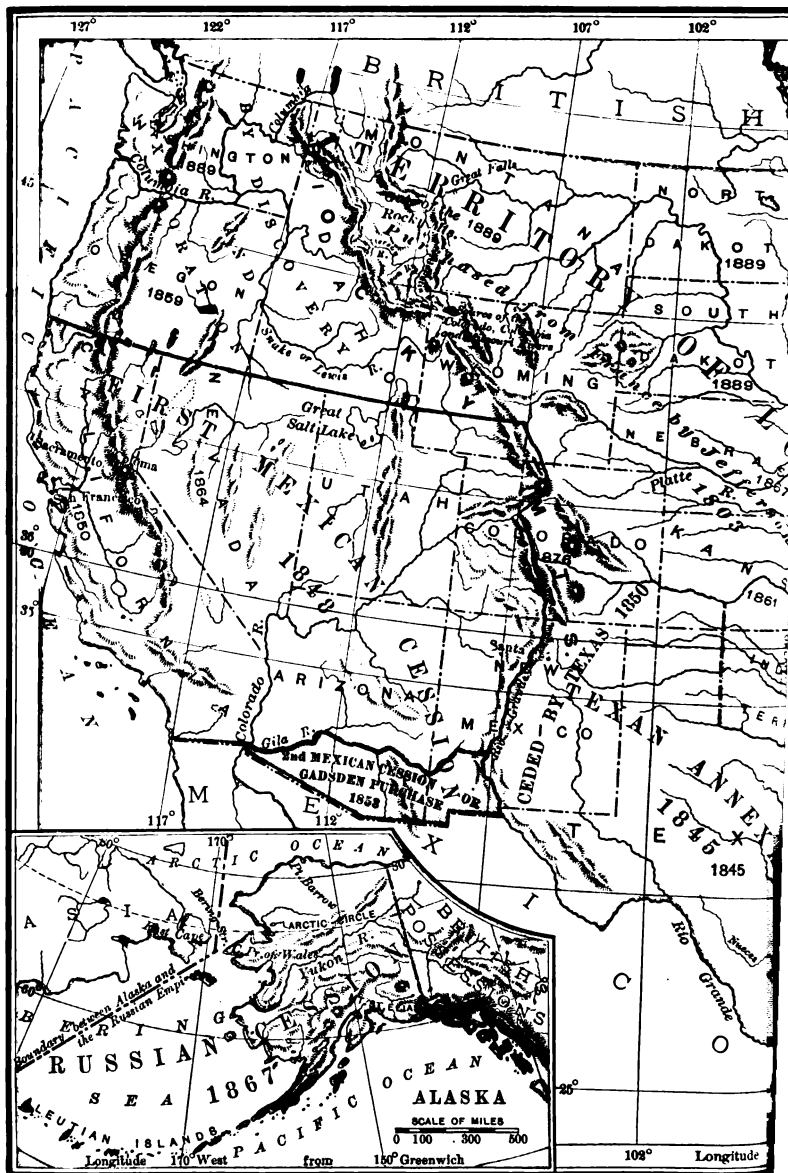
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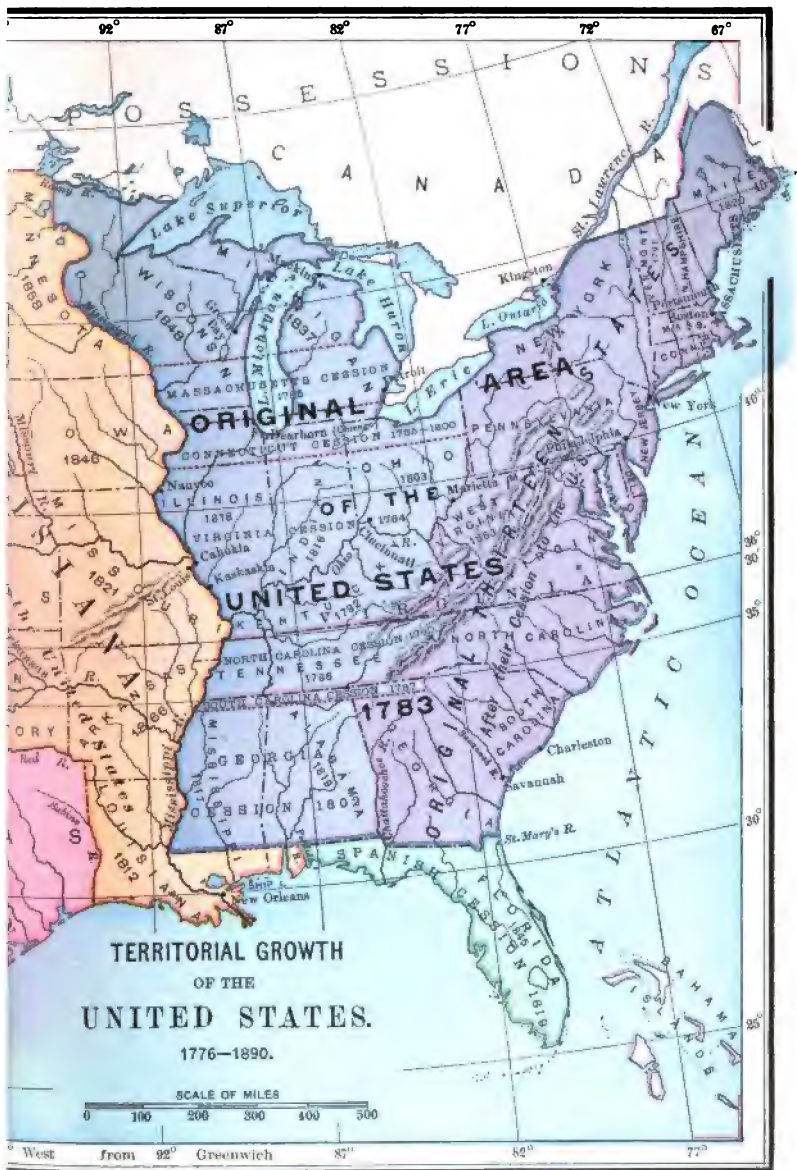
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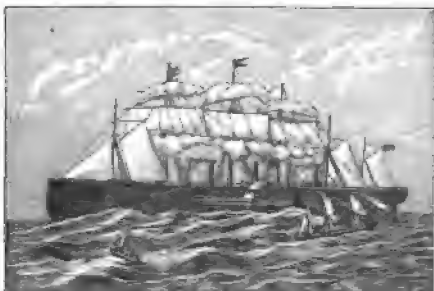




gress, the House of Representatives preferred charges of impeachment against the president. He was tried before the Senate, Chief Justice Chase presiding, and after a trial of six weeks he was adjudged not guilty. Conviction requires a two-thirds vote of the senators; thirty-five of the fifty-four senators voted him guilty, and he thus came within one vote of being removed from his office as president of the United States.

609. Maximilian in Mexico. — Louis Napoleon, the French Emperor, had taken advantage of the war in the United States to subjugate Mexico. At the close of the war the United States government demanded the withdrawal of the French troops (§ 420). Napoleon yielded, leaving to his fate Maximilian, Arch-Duke of Austria, whom he had made Emperor of Mexico. Maximilian rashly remained in that country, and was captured and shot by the Mexicans.

610. The Atlantic Cable. — Several attempts had been made to connect the New and Old World by telegraph.



Great Eastern.

These efforts finally proved successful in 1866. Cyrus W. Field was the active leader in the great enterprise of laying the submarine telegraph-wire between the coasts of Newfoundland

and Ireland. The steamship *Great Eastern* — at that time the largest vessel ever constructed — was used for this purpose.

611. Purchase of Alaska. — This territory had been discovered in 1741 by Vitus Behring, a Russian explorer. Its name was changed from Russian America to Alaska at the time of its purchase by the United States.



Sitka, Alaska.

In 1867 the United States purchased Alaska from the Russian government for \$7,200,000. Alaska consists of about 500,000 square miles. Part of it, the Aleutian Islands, extends so far west into the Pacific Ocean as to make the meridian of

longitude passing through San Francisco nearly midway between the extreme eastern and extreme western parts of the United States. Alaska has proved valuable on account of the seal fisheries.

612. Election of 1868.—General U. S. Grant, of Illinois, to whom the chief credit for the final success of the Union arms was due, had won thereby great prestige, and had become very popular with the masses of the people of the United States. He was nominated for the presidency by the Republicans in 1868. Schuyler Colfax was the Republican nominee for vice-president. The platform endorsed the reconstruction acts of Congress.

The Democrats nominated Horatio Seymour, of New York, and Francis P. Blair, of Missouri, as their candidates for president and vice-president. Their platform favored the "immediate restoration of all the states to their rights in the Union under the Constitution." They declared the reconstruction acts "usurpation, unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void."

Of the 294 electoral votes Grant received 214, Seymour, 80. Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia were not allowed to vote because they had not been readmitted.

613. Summary.—A conflict soon arose between President Johnson and Congress as to the method of readmitting the seceded states. A bill was passed over the president's veto dividing the South into five military districts under the control of Federal officers. It was 1870 before all the Southern states were restored to their places in the Union. During this reconstruction period and for some years later, the South was a victim of the rascality and corruption of "carpet-bag" governments. The quarrel between the president and Congress reached its climax in the impeachment of the president, which resulted in his acquittal by one vote. The Fourteenth Amendment, conferring the right of citizenship upon the negroes, was declared adopted. France complied with the demand of the United States for the withdrawal of French troops from Mexico. The Atlantic cable was successfully laid. Alaska was

purchased from Russia for \$7,200,000. Gen. Grant, the Republican candidate, was elected next president.

614. Thought Questions.— If Lincoln had lived to the close of his second administration, in what respects would the history of the seceded states have been different? In what respects were the ex-slaves of the South unfit to vote? When only can universal suffrage result in good government? What presidents besides Johnson had bitter opposition in Congress? Were any of these impeached? In what way did the United States enforce the Monroe Doctrine during this administration? In what presidential elections did Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas take no part? Why?

GRANT'S ADMINISTRATION.

Two Terms: 1869–1877.

615. Character and Services of the New President.— Ulysses S. Grant was born in 1822 at Point Pleasant, in Ohio. Graduated from West Point in the class of 1843, he fought with credit in the Mexican War. In 1854 he resigned his place in the army and engaged in the leather trade. He re-entered the army in 1861, and was made a colonel. He was rapidly advanced in rank and responsibility until he was placed in command of all the Union armies. After serving two terms as president he made a tour of the world. His last years were clouded by business reverses. He died on July 23, 1885.

Grant was a very successful general. To him, more than to any other commander, was due the final success of the Union forces. He was a simple-hearted soldier, loyal to his friends, but unversed in civil life.

616. Treaty of Washington.— In 1871 commissioners from England and the United States met at Washington to settle "all causes of difference between England and the United States." The treaty agreed upon provided for the settlement of the disputes between the two nations by arbitration, a mode

of adjusting international contentions which marks a forward step in civilization. The disputed questions settled were as follows :

617. (1) Alabama Claims.— During the war the Confederate authorities had contracted for several ships to be built in England, the chief of which was the *Alabama* (§ 583). The United States claimed that the damage done by these vessels should be paid for by the English government. These claims were called the “Alabama claims,” and were referred for settlement to five commissioners, one each from England, United States, Italy, Brazil, and Switzerland. They met at Geneva, Switzerland, and awarded \$15,500,000 to the United States, which amount was to be paid into the treasury of the United States and distributed to the owners of the property destroyed by the vessels built in England.

618. (2) The Northwest Boundary.— The dispute concerning the northwestern boundary between Washington and Vancouver’s Island was left to the decision of the Emperor of Germany. He declared in favor of the boundary-line claimed by the United States.

619. (3) Fisheries.— The dispute over the right of citizens of the United States to fish in the waters along Newfoundland was settled by commissioners, who decided that they should have the privilege of fishing in these waters for twelve years upon the payment of \$5,500,000 to Great Britain.

620. The Fifteenth Amendment was ratified by the necessary three-fourths of the states in 1870. This amendment provided that no law should be passed to prevent citizens from voting on account of “race, color, or previous condition of servitude.”

621. The Pacific Railroad.— The great railroad connecting Omaha, Nebraska, with San Francisco, California (a distance of 1900 miles), and uniting the East with the West, was completed in 1869. Three other transcontinental lines of railroad



Marshall Pass, showing route of Pacific Railroad through the mountains.

have been built since then, so that one may now travel across the United States in as short a time as the trip from New York to Boston required a century ago.

622. Great Fires.— Several great fires occurred during this administration, of which the chief was the Chicago fire of October 8–9, 1871. Five square miles were ravaged by the flames, twenty thousand houses were burned, property to the amount of two hundred million dollars was consumed, and over two hundred and fifty persons perished.

About a year later Boston was partly destroyed by a great fire, — the loss amounting to \$80,000,000. The sufferings of the people in these cities were greatly alleviated by generous

contributions from all parts of the United States and foreign nations. The burnt districts in both cities were soon covered by larger and better buildings than before.

623. Political Affairs.— Grant's administration was marked by great political excitement. The South was struggling to free itself from Radical misrule, — Republican administrations created by the "carpet-baggers," and supported mainly by negro votes. A state of affairs bordering on war existed there until, by the elections of 1876, the Southern whites regained full control of the states.

During the time of the Reconstruction régime a secret society called the *Ku Klux Klan* was organized in the South to check and resist Radical rule and to hold the negroes in subjection. This organization often resorted to violence, and crimes were committed in its name, but it was the chief means of preventing the lately enfranchised negroes and the adventurers who misled them from so dominating the Southern states as to destroy the very foundations of society.

624. Grangers.— In 1868 the secret society of *Grangers* was organized mainly by farmers in the northwestern states and spread rapidly through the South and West. Its object was to unite the farmers on political matters, as well as to benefit them in other ways.

625. Reëlection of Grant.— One wing of the Republican party, composed of those who were dissatisfied with the Congressional policy of reconstruction, became known as the "Liberal Republicans." They hoped that by selecting a platform and a candidate acceptable to the Democrats, they might defeat the Radical Republican party. They nominated Horace Greeley,¹ the editor of the *New York Tribune*, for the presi-

¹ Greeley had been a life-long enemy of the Democratic party and was not supported very enthusiastically by the Democrats. He died of disappointment before the meeting of the Electoral College and the opposition vote was scattered among several candidates.

dency. The Democratic convention endorsed the Liberal Republican platform and candidate.

The regular Republican party renominated Grant for the presidency with Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, for vice-president. The electoral vote stood 286 for Grant and Wilson to 63 for the opposition.¹

626. Corruption in Office.— During Grant's two terms many political scandals were unearthed. These were due doubtless in a large measure to laxity in administration, consequent upon the war, and also to the credulity of the president, who was a famous soldier, but not well adapted to great civil responsibilities.

The *Crédit Mobilier* was a company organized to build the Pacific Railroad. It was discovered in 1873 that measures promoting its interest had been passed through Congress by means of bribery.

Back Salary Grab.— In 1872 a bill was passed by Congress advancing the salaries of many of the officers of the government. The president's salary was raised from \$25,000 to \$50,000 per annum. The salary of a congressman was raised from \$5000 to \$7500 per annum. The act made the advance in salaries date from the beginning of the current term. The law was nicknamed the "back-salary grab," and provoked such opposition throughout the country that it was speedily repealed, except as to the salaries of the president and the judges of the Supreme Court.

Whiskey Ring.— In 1875, it was discovered that a "whiskey ring," composed of prominent officials, had colluded with distillers in the West in defrauding the government of the revenue on whiskey. Several persons of wealth, social influence, and high standing were tried, convicted, and punished for this violation of the laws of the land.

¹ Seventeen of the votes against Grant were not counted by Congress. The total number of votes against him was 80.

Impeachment of Belknap. — In 1876, Secretary of War Belknap was impeached for receiving bribes for appointment of officers. He escaped conviction by resigning his office.

627. Indian Troubles. — Two insurrections occurred among the Indians during Grant's administration. The first was among the *Modocs* in Oregon. They were subdued after a year's fighting.

The *Sioux Indians* in Montana, under their chief, Sitting Bull, defied the Federal authorities. In June, 1876, General Custer, with a small band of 250 men, attacked a large force of these Indians, and he and all his men were killed after a brave resistance. The Sioux then retreated into British America.

628. Financial Matters. *Panic of 1873.* — A financial panic occurred in 1873, and its effects continued to be felt for several years. It was caused by the lavish expenditures of the war, a series of good crops, an unstable currency, and the too rapid building of railroads. From 1868 to 1872 the railroad mileage of the United States increased 50 per cent. The panic started from the failure of a banking house in Philadelphia, which was largely concerned in the Northern Pacific Railroad.

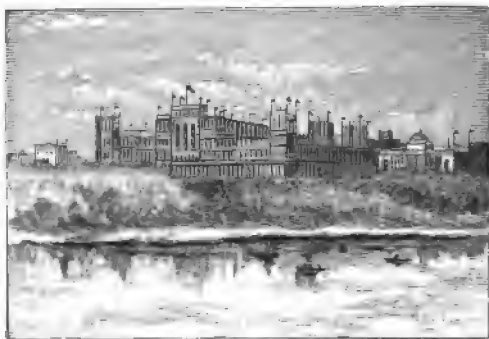
Demonetization of Silver. — Early in 1873 a coinage act was passed in which the silver dollar, which had always been legal tender, was dropped from the list of coins to be minted. The silver dollar was worth more at this time than the gold dollar, and had passed out of circulation. The silver dollar was to be no longer a legal tender in the payment of debts and hence was said to be demonetized. About a year later a bill providing for the further issue of paper money passed both Houses of Congress, but the president vetoed it.

Resumption of Specie Payments. — The "greenbacks"¹ which Congress had issued during the war were worth much

¹ Paper money, the back of each bill being printed in green ink.

less than their face value, because Congress was unable to redeem them in specie. In 1875 an act was passed declaring that on January 1, 1879, specie payments would be resumed. Greenbacks at once rose to par, and have since remained on the same level as gold and silver.

629. The Centennial in 1876.—In spite of the financial stringency, the 100th anniversary of the Declaration of Inde-



Centennial Exhibition Buildings, Philadelphia, 1876.

pendence was celebrated with great success at Philadelphia by an International Exposition. It was followed by a series of centennial anniversaries at several historic spots, commemorating important events of the Revolutionary War.

630. The Centennial State.—Colorado was admitted into the Union in 1876, and hence is called the "Centennial State."

631. The Election of 1876.—The Republicans nominated for president Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, and W. A. Wheeler, of New York. A strong element of the Republican party endeavored to renominate Grant for a third term, but the opposition was too decided.

The Democrats nominated Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, for the presidency, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, for the vice-presidency.

The campaign was very exciting. The congressional elections in 1874 had shown a reaction toward the Democratic party. At first the election of Tilden was conceded by the Republican press, but soon afterward the result of the elections in the states of South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida was found to be uncertain. In South Carolina and Florida many Democratic votes were thrown out, on the ground that Republican voters had been intimidated and so prevented from voting. The "Returning Boards"¹ in these two states declared the Republican electors chosen. The Democratic electors charged fraud, and claimed that they had been elected; so both sets of electors met and sent in their votes to Congress. In Louisiana, the Returning Board, refusing to comply with the law in many points, declared the Republican electors chosen, and the governor, who was held in his place by Federal troops, gave them certificates. McEnery, the Democratic candidate for governor, claimed the election, and gave certificates to the Democratic electors. Oregon also sent in two sets of returns. One of the Republican electors was declared disqualified by the governor, who appointed instead a Democrat to serve as elector.

Not counting the votes of the states of South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, and Oregon, Tilden received 184 votes, Hayes, 163. A joint rule adopted by Congress in 1865 provided that disputed electoral votes could only be counted by the consent of both Houses. If this rule had been followed, Tilden would have been declared elected, inasmuch as he had

¹ "Returning Boards" were created by law during the Reconstruction troubles, and invested with extraordinary powers over the counting of votes in disputed elections. They could throw out votes and manipulate the figures as they chose, and no appeal could be taken from their decision.

a majority of the electoral votes about which no question could be made. The Democratic House wished now to follow this rule. The Republican Senate refused to abide by it.

632. The Electoral Commission.—To settle the dispute, which was not provided for in the Constitution, the *Electoral Commission* was created. It consisted of five senators (two Democrats and three Republicans), five representatives (three Democrats and two Republicans), and five supreme judges. The act creating the commission provided that two of the judges should be Republicans, and two Democrats, the four judges to choose the fifth themselves.¹ A Republican was chosen, thus constituting the commission eight Republicans and seven Democrats. The commission, by a vote of 8 to 7, decided in favor of the Republican electors for South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, counted the Republican instead of the Democratic elector from Oregon, and thus gave the presidency to the Republican candidate. Hayes and Wheeler thus received an electoral vote of 185, while Tilden and Hendricks received 184.

633. Summary.—A treaty with England in 1871 provided for the peaceful settlement of the Alabama claims, the Northwest boundary, and the Fishery dispute. The Fifteenth Amendment, giving negroes the right to vote, was declared adopted. The first Pacific Railroad was completed. Fires at Chicago and Boston caused great loss of property. Grant was reelected over Horace Greeley, the candidate of the Liberal Republicans and Democrats. The administration was characterized by much corruption in office. Silver was demonetized and specie payments were resumed. The Centennial Exposition was held at Philadelphia. Colorado was admitted. The Electoral Commission settled the disputed presidential election by declaring Hayes, the Republican candidate, elected over Tilden, his Democratic opponent.

¹ Doubtless Judge David Davis, an Independent Democrat, would have been selected had he not resigned his office just at this time to accept a senatorship from Illinois. The choice then fell on Judge Bradley, a Republican.

634. Thought Questions.—Name the presidents who owed their election to military renown. If the principle of "arbitration" in the settlement of national disputes had been recognized from the beginning of our history, what war could most readily have been averted? Were any of our wars *inevitable*? Recall the peculiar circumstances of the presidential election of 1800: of 1824. In what ways did the contest of 1876 differ from the others?

TOPICAL ANALYSIS (RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD).

JOHNSON'S ADMINISTRATION. — 1865-69.

- 601. **The New President.**
- 602-604. **Reconstruction Plans.** { Lincoln's plan.
Johnson's plan.
Plan of Congress.
- 605. **Distrust of the President:** By Congress.
- 606. **Readmission of the States.** { The Fourteenth Amendment.
Final readmission.
- 607. **Result of Reconstruction Policy.** { The "iron-clad" oath.
"Carpet-bag" governments.
- 608. **Impeachment of the President.** { Tenure of Office Bill.
Johnson's opposition.
Impeachment and trial.
- 609. **Maximilian in Mexico.**
- 610. **The Atlantic Cable.** { The leader of the enterprise.
Laying of the cable.
- 611. **Purchase of Alaska.** { Discovery and name.
Purchase by United States.
Extent of territory.
- 612. **Presidential Election.** { Candidates and platform.
Result of the election.

GRANT'S ADMINISTRATION. — 1869-77.

- 615. **The New President.**
- 616-19. **Treaty of Washington.** { Alabama claims.
Northwest boundary.
Fishery dispute.
- 620. **The Fifteenth Amendment.**
- 621. **The Pacific Railroad.** { The first road.
Subsequent roads.
- 622. **Great Fires.** { At Chicago.
At Boston.

(Continued.)

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| 623. Political Affairs. | { | Misrule of "Carpet-baggers."
The Ku Klux Klan. |
| 624. The Grangers. | | |
| 625. Reëlection of Grant. | { | Split in Republican party.
Result of the election. |
| 626. Corruption in Office. | { | The Credit Mobilier.
The back salary grab.
The whiskey ring.
Impeachment of Belknap. |
| 627. Indian Troubles. | { | The Modocs in Oregon.
The Sioux in Montana. |
| 628. Financial Matters. | { | Panic of 1873.
Demonetization of silver.
Resumption of specie payments. |
| 629. The Centennial at Philadelphia. | | |
| 630. Colorado Admitted. | | |
| 631-32. Presidential Election. | { | The candidates.
Contested result.
Settlement by Electoral Commission. |

RECENT EVENTS.

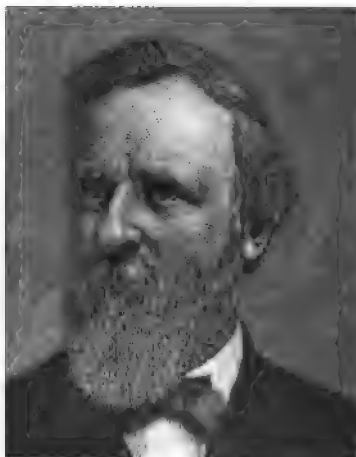
(HAYES TO CLEVELAND.)

HAYES'S ADMINISTRATION.

One Term : 1877-1881.

635. Character and Services of the New President. —

Rutherford B. Hayes was born in Ohio in the same year as President Grant, 1822. He was a lawyer by profession, but rose to the rank of brigadier-general in the War between the States. He served one term in Congress, and three terms as governor of Ohio. After one term as president he lived quietly at his home in Ohio, where he died in 1893. President Hayes was a man of great purity and dignity of character. His influence was wisely used to mitigate sectional feeling, and to promote justice and sound ideas in the administration of the government.



Rutherford B. Hayes.

636. Character of the Period. — This period was characterized by steady growth. The country was recovering from the results of the war and gathering new strength. The administration was an unusually quiet one. There is little of importance to be recorded in its history.

637. The Southern States.—The Southern Democrats regained control of all the Southern states. Even Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina, whose votes had been given by the Electoral Commission to Hayes, passed at once into the hands of the Democratic state administrations. Soon after Hayes became president he withdrew the Federal troops. Without their presence the Republican governors of South Carolina and Louisiana could not support their claims. The Supreme Court of Florida, though Republican in its *personnel*, refused to sustain the claim of the Republican candidate for governor. The other Southern states had already become Democratic.

638. Labor Troubles.—The early part of the administration was marked by serious labor disturbances. Thousands of persons were unable to secure employment and the country was filled with tramps. In 1877 serious riots occurred among railroad employees. Concerted action was taken by them all over the country. The most serious troubles were at Pittsburg, Chicago, and St. Louis. These riots cost about one hundred lives and more than three million dollars' worth of property.

639. Financial Legislation.—In 1878 silver, which had been demonetized in 1873, was restored to its place in the currency of the country. The Resumption Act (§ 628) went into effect during this administration. It restored confidence in the financial soundness of the government. In consequence of this restoration of confidence in the ability of the government to meet its obligations, the secretary of the treasury borrowed money at a much lower rate of interest than the bonds already issued bore. The new bonds were sold bearing a lower rate of interest, and with the money thus secured bonds bearing a higher rate of interest were paid as they matured. This was called *refunding the national debt*.

640. Inventions. — The telephone and the electric light were perfected during this period. The telephone was perfected by Bell and Graham in 1877. The electric light was introduced in 1878. Edison in 1877 gave to the world the phonograph.

641. Yellow Fever. — In 1878-79 yellow fever prevailed in many places in the Southern states, especially in the Mississippi valley. Of the twenty thousand persons who had this fever, about one-third died from its effects. Since that time medical science has shown that yellow fever can be excluded from this country by disinfection and quarantine.

642. The Presidential Election of 1880. — Strenuous efforts were again made in the Republican party to nominate ex-President Grant for a third term. After a long wrangle the Republican convention nominated James A. Garfield of Ohio for president, and Chester A. Arthur of New York for vice-president.

The Democrats nominated General W. S. Hancock of Pennsylvania for president, and William H. English of Indiana for vice-president.

The Greenback party nominated James B. Weaver for president, but he received no electoral vote.

Hancock received the electoral vote of the "Solid South,"¹ Nevada, and California,² a total of 155. Garfield and Arthur received the remainder of the electoral votes, 214, and were accordingly elected.

643. Summary. — President Hayes withdrew the United States troops that had been upholding the carpet-bag governments in the South, and the state administrations in this section at once passed into the hands of the Democratic party. A bill remonetizing silver was passed. The process of refunding the national debt began. The telephone, electric light, and

¹ All of the states that had belonged to the Southern Confederacy voted the Democratic ticket, and hence were called the "Solid South."

² One of the votes of California was cast for Garfield.

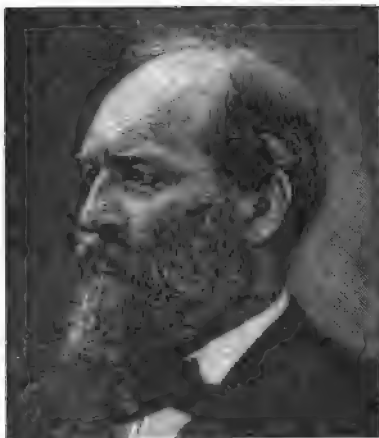
phonograph were introduced. A severe yellow-fever epidemic raged in the South. In the presidential election, Garfield, the Republican candidate, was elected.

644. Thought Questions. — Define the following terms : legal tender ; demonetization of silver ; resumption of specie payments ; refunding the debt.

ADMINISTRATION OF GARFIELD AND ARTHUR.

One Term : 1881-1885.

645. Character and Services of Garfield. — James A. Garfield, like his two predecessors, was a native of Ohio, where he



James A. Garfield.

was born in 1831. Reared in poverty he worked his way through college, and was graduated from Williams. He studied law and taught school in his native state. He served for a while in the army during the war, winning the rank of major-general. Elected to Congress, he left the army and thereafter devoted himself to political life. He was sent to the House of Representatives four times in suc-

cession, and had just been elected to the Senate when he received the nomination to the presidency.

President Garfield was admirably equipped for the duties of the presidency. A man of culture, and the highest personal character, his knowledge of civil affairs gave promise of a wholesome administration.

646. Appointments to Office. — Soon after his accession to the presidency Garfield became involved in a wrangle with the

Senate over appointments to office. The senators from New York opposed the confirmation of the president's appointee to the collectorship of the port of New York. Being unable to defeat the confirmation of the appointee through what is known as the "courtesy of the Senate"¹ they resigned their seats in Congress. This increased the bitterness between the two factions of the Republican party, and indirectly led to the tragic death of the president.

647. Assassination of Garfield.—Charles J. Guiteau was a weak-minded, disappointed office-seeker. In order, as he said, "to make Arthur president, and unite the Republican party," he planned the death of the president. On July 2, 1881, at a railway station in Washington, he accomplished his purpose by shooting President Garfield in the back. For six weeks the sufferer lingered between life and death, and on September 19 died at Elberon, N. J. The entire people mourned his death.

648. The Accession of Arthur.—By the death of Garfield, Vice-President Arthur became chief magistrate of the United States and served the remainder of the term.

649. Life and Services of President Arthur.—

Chester Allan Arthur was born in Vermont in 1830. He was college-bred, and like Garfield, taught school and studied law. He held the col-



Chester A. Arthur.

¹ The "courtesy of the Senate" requires all the senators of one political party to vote on questions of official appointments in accordance with the wishes of the senators (of their party) from the state in which the office to be filled is situated.

lectorship of the port of New York under Grant's administration and was put on the ticket as vice-president to please the "Stalwarts," as those favoring the nomination of Grant for the third term were called. He made a good president. He died in New York in November, 1886.

650. Star Route Frauds. — In 1881 it was discovered that the government was being defrauded of several million dollars per year by the contractors of the "star routes"¹ in the West. Although several prominent officials were tried, and for lack of sufficient evidence were acquitted, the investigations stopped the abuse.

651. Polar Expeditions. — The New York *Herald* sent out an expedition in the ship *Jeannette*, under Captain De Long, to explore the Arctic seas north of Behring's Strait. The ship was caught by icebergs, and after drifting several months was crushed. Some of the party, after terrible sufferings, reached the coast of Siberia.

An expedition under Lieutenant Greely located on Lady Franklin Bay, west of Greenland, and not receiving aid when expected, resulted in disaster. When the party was rescued in June, 1883, only seven of the twenty-four had survived the cold and privation of the Arctic winter.

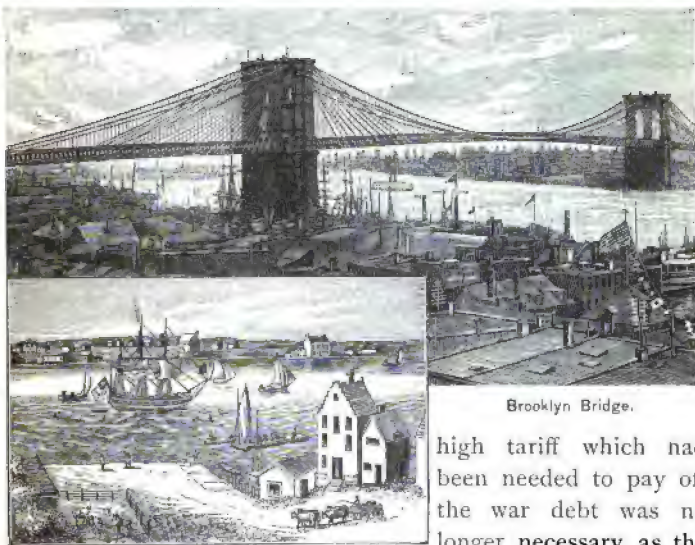
652. Important Legislation. Law against Polygamy. — In 1882 Congress passed a severe anti-polygamy law. The religion of the Mormons allows polygamy. Utah, where the Mormons live, had not been admitted to the Union because if it should become a state it could pass its own laws on this subject.

Civil Service Reform. — In 1883 Congress passed a bill to provide for the filling of many offices through competitive

¹ In the United States when mail is carried in any other way than by rail the route is called a "star route."

examinations on the basis of merit, without regard to the political affiliations of the applicants for positions. This reform makes tenure of office more certain, and secures better service for the government. It was opposed by politicians in both parties, who believed that "to the victor belong the spoils."

The Tariff of 1883.—An attempt was made in 1882 to reduce the tariff, but it failed. It became manifest that the



Brooklyn Bridge.

East River (between Brooklyn and New York) in 1746.

high tariff which had been needed to pay off the war debt was no longer necessary, as the treasury had an increasing surplus of money.

Accordingly, in 1883 a bill was passed slightly lowering the import charges, chiefly on articles not used in this country.

Letter postage in 1883 was reduced from three cents to two cents per one-half ounce.¹ Postal notes were introduced the same year.

¹ In 1885 letter postage was further reduced to two cents per ounce or fraction thereof.

653. The Brooklyn Bridge. — Work on the bridge connecting New York and Brooklyn had been begun in 1870. It was completed in May, 1883. This famous bridge is 5,989 feet long, and its cost was \$16,000,000.

654. Standard Time. — During the same year the railroads adopted what is known as standard time. Local time for the meridians of 75°, 90°, 105°, and 120° was adopted as standard time for the Eastern, Central, Mountain, and Pacific divisions, respectively. All places within any one division use the same time. When it is twelve o'clock in the Eastern division it is one, two, and three hours earlier, respectively, in the Central, Mountain, and Pacific divisions.

655. Disasters. — The summer of 1881 was marked by a very protracted drouth. Crops all over the country were greatly damaged. Many forest fires occurred. Of these the most destructive were in Michigan. In this state as many as five thousand persons were rendered homeless, and several hundred lost their lives.

The next year was notable for the great floods. The Ohio and Mississippi rivers rose higher than ever before, producing great overflows and causing immense damage to property, as well as the loss of many lives. The Mississippi River was, in places, over one hundred miles wide.

656. Expositions. — The great *Cotton Exposition* was held in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1881. It showed that the Southern states had adapted themselves with wonderful success to the changed conditions brought about by the late war.

In the same year the *Centennial Celebration of the Surrender of Cornwallis* was held at Yorktown, Virginia.

Three years later a *World's Exposition* was held at New Orleans. It served to promote trade relations with Mexico and Central America.

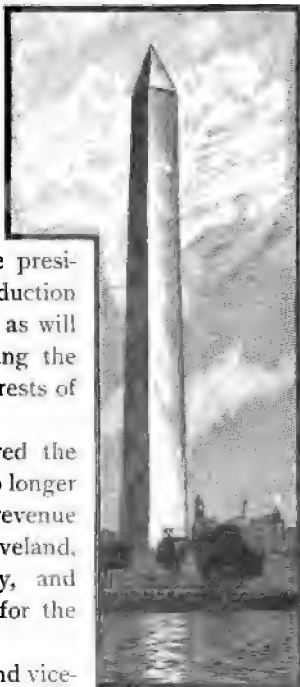
657. The Cincinnati Riot. — In 1884 a riot occurred in Cincinnati on account of delay in the courts. Over one hundred lives were lost before it was suppressed.

658. Election of 1884. — In 1884 the question of reducing duties on foreign exports became a national issue. These duties were still maintained at nearly the same rates as had been levied during the War between the States. They yielded a revenue beyond the needs of the government and thus caused an increasing surplus in the national treasury.

The Republicans nominated James G. Blaine, of Maine, for the presidency. Their platform proposed reduction in the revenues "by such methods as will relieve the tax-payer without injuring the laborers or the great productive interests of the country."

The Democratic platform declared the protective tariff a burdensome tax no longer necessary, and demanded a tax "for revenue only." They nominated Grover Cleveland, of New York, for the presidency, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, for the vice-presidency.

Nominations for the presidency and vice-presidency were also made by the Prohibitionists (J. P. St. John, of Kansas, and Wm. Daniel, of Maryland), and the Greenback Labor and Anti-Monopoly party (B. F. Butler, of Massachusetts, and A. M. West, of Mississippi). The Prohibitionists cast 151,809 votes, and the Anti-Monopolists 133,825.



Washington Monument,
Washington, D. C.,
completed 1885.

Cleveland and Hendricks were elected, receiving 219 electoral votes. Their opponents received 182. Thus for the first time in a quarter of a century the Democrats elected and seated a president.

659. Summary.—A few months after his inauguration, President Garfield was assassinated by a weak-minded, disappointed office-seeker. Vice-President Arthur succeeded to the presidency. "Star-route" frauds perpetrated on the government by contractors for carrying the mails in the West were discovered and checked. Two unsuccessful polar expeditions were made. A civil service law making merit, rather than political service, the basis of appointment to office was passed. Expositions were held in Atlanta and New Orleans. A law reducing letter postage, and the adoption of standard time by the railroads proved of great benefit. In the presidential election Cleveland, the Democratic candidate, was successful.

660. Thought Questions.—If polygamy is part of the religious belief of the Mormons, how can anti-polygamy laws of Congress be justified (see Const., Amendment I)? How does civil service reform secure better official service?

CLEVELAND'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

One Term: 1885-1889.

661. Character and Services of the President.—Grover Cleveland was born in New Jersey in 1837. His father removed to New York in 1841. Left an orphan by the death of his father, his youth was spent in poverty. He studied in the Academy at Clinton, made himself a lawyer, was assistant district attorney, sheriff, and mayor at Buffalo, and was elected governor of New York, in 1882, by 200,000 majority. He is now (1895) serving his second term as president. President Cleveland is a man of extraordinary force and courage. He has not hesitated to brave unpopularity for the sake of serving what he believed to be the welfare of the country. He is admired and respected by the masses of the people, while he is bitterly opposed by many of the leaders, even of his own party.

662. The Reform President. — Cleveland won the name of the Reform President by the changes which he proposed in the administration of the government, but the Republicans had a majority in the Senate, and so the Democratic party was unable to make the changes proposed in the tariff. President Cleveland carried out the civil service reform idea more thoroughly than his predecessors had done. He was noted for his moderate course in regard to removals from office.



Grover Cleveland.

663. Deaths. — On July 23, 1885, ex-President Grant died. Universal sorrow was manifested and his funeral was such as fitted one to whom the Union owed so much. Several prominent Confederate generals, among them General Jos. E. Johnston, officiated at his funeral.

On the 25th of November, 1885, the vice-presidency became vacant by the death of Vice-President Hendricks.

664. Important Legislation. Presidential Succession. — By a law passed in 1792, the president *pro tempore* of the Senate and the speaker of the House were to succeed in order to the presidency in case of death, resignation, or disability of both the president and vice-president. The death of Vice-President Hendricks occurred when Congress was not in session, that is, when there was neither a president of the Senate nor a speaker of the House. Thus, if the president were to die there would be no one to succeed to the position, and the country would be left without a chief magistrate. In 1886 a law was passed

changing the order of succession to the presidency, and prescribing that cabinet officers shall succeed to this position in a certain specified order.¹

Counting of Electoral Vote. — The peril incurred in 1876 in counting the electoral vote led ten years later to the passage of an act providing more definitely against the recurrence of such a crisis. The act provided that the electoral votes which both houses agree to be legal shall be counted. In case of disagreement, those votes are to be counted which have the certificate of the governor attached.

In 1887 the *Interstate Railroad Commission* was established by Congress to regulate railroad transportation between states.

In the same year a more stringent bill was passed to prevent *polygamy* among the Mormons (§ 652).

The year following Congress passed a law prohibiting *Chinese immigration* for a period of ten years.

665. Labor Troubles. — The quarrel between labor and capital attracted attention from time to time for many years. It culminated, in 1886, in strikes all over the United States. In Chicago the strikers manifested their sympathy with the Anarchists (chiefly foreigners who were opposed to government of any kind). A fight occurred with the police and about eighty persons were killed. This trouble was started by a dynamite bomb thrown by Anarchists among the policemen. The bomb exploded and killed seven of the officers. The Anarchist leaders were arrested and tried, and four were executed. The others were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, but were liberated in 1893 on the ground that they had not been justly treated in the trial.

¹ The following is the order of presidential succession in the cabinet: (1) secretary of state; (2) secretary of the treasury; (3) secretary of war; (4) secretary of the navy; (5) secretary of the interior; (6) attorney-general; (7) postmaster-general; (8) secretary of agriculture.

666. The Charleston Earthquake.— The South Atlantic seaboard was visited by severe earthquake shocks in 1886. The center of the disturbance was near Charleston, S. C. Immense damage was done to property. Nearly every house in the city was either destroyed or much injured (August 31, 1886).

667. The Statue of Liberty.— The French people, to show their admiration for the United States, presented to the people



Houses Destroyed by the Earthquake.

of our country a statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World." The statue was made in France, by the artist Bartholdi, at a cost of a quarter of a million dollars. It is the largest work of the kind in the world, its height being 292 feet. The interior of the head contains standing room for forty persons. It faces the entrance to New York harbor.

668. Political Questions.— The tariff on imports added to the internal revenues on liquor and tobacco yielded the government an annual surplus of \$100,000,000 after all the expenses had been paid. President Cleveland recommended to Congress, in December, 1887, such a reduction in the tariff as

would make the receipts and the expenses of the government more nearly equal. The Mills¹ bill, which passed the House of Representatives, but was defeated in the Senate, was intended to carry out the policy recommended by the president. The House was Democratic and the Senate was Republican. So the issue was made before the people in the presidential election on the tariff policy of President Cleveland.

• **669. Presidential Election of 1888.**—The Democrats re-nominated Cleveland, with Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, for vice-president. Their platform demanded a reduction of the tariff to the revenue basis. The Republicans nominated Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, for president, and Levi P. Morton, of New York, for vice-president. Their platform advocated protection for American industries.

The Prohibitionists and the United Labor party put up candidates also, but they got no electoral votes.

Cleveland was defeated, the Republican candidates receiving 233 electoral votes to Cleveland's 168. The popular vote for Cleveland exceeded that for Harrison by 94,611.

670. Summary.—President Cleveland carried out with great firmness his ideas of reform in the civil service. The deaths of General Grant and Vice-President Hendricks occurred during this administration. There were quarrels between capital and labor in various parts of the country and a conflict between Anarchists and the police of Chicago. An earthquake at Charleston, S. C., did great damage. The statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World" was presented to the United States by the French people. Laws regulating the presidential succession, providing for the settlement of disputed elections, establishing an Interstate Railway Commission, and forbidding Chinese immigration were passed. In the presidential election, the reduction of the tariff was made an issue between the parties. Cleveland was beaten for reelection by Harrison, the Republican candidate.

671. Thought Questions.—Who was the last Democratic president before Cleveland? What are the arguments in favor of restricting Chinese

¹ So named from its author, Hon. Roger Q. Mills of Texas.



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LIBERTY ENLIGHTENING THE WORLD

A Statue in the Harbor of New York City, given to the American People by the
People of France

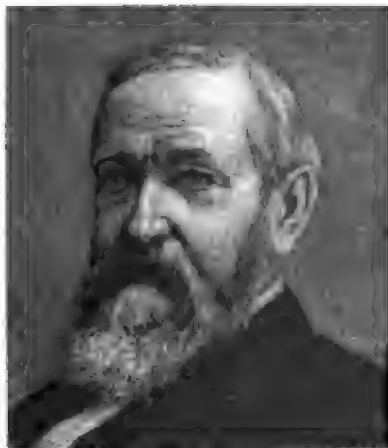
immigration? Why do the Chinese come to this country? Why do they settle in the West? What immigrants have been most valuable to us? What sort of immigrants are undesirable? What political question was most prominent during this administration? How may a candidate receiving a minority of the popular vote be elected president?

ADMINISTRATION OF BENJAMIN HARRISON.

One Term: 1889-1893.

672. Character and Services of the New President. —

Benjamin Harrison (grandson of President William Henry Harrison) was born in Ohio on the 20th of August, 1833.



Benjamin Harrison.

After graduating at Miami University, and studying law, he went to Indiana to practice his profession. He entered the Union army in 1861, and had reached the rank of brevet-brigadier general when the war closed. Returning then to Indianapolis he resumed the practice of law. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1880.

Harrison's course as president was such as to command the respect of all

parties. He is a man of unblemished reputation in both public and private life.

673. The Pan-American Congress. — The *Pan-American* (*pan* is a Greek word meaning "all") *Congress* was a body composed of sixty-six delegates from eighteen of the North, Central, and South American governments. They met in

Washington on October 2, 1889, and, after spending six weeks visiting leading cities, continued their deliberations until May, 1890. The object of the meeting, as stated, was the promotion of friendly feeling and closer intercourse between the American peoples. One useful recommendation made by the congress was that the nations represented should settle their disputes by arbitration rather than war.

674. Congressional Legislation — *The McKinley Bill.* —

In the campaign of 1888 the Republicans had committed themselves to the policy of increasing the tariff; and as they now had control of both Houses of Congress they proceeded to pass a new tariff law, which was named from its framer¹ the McKinley bill. Under this tariff the duties on a large number of imported articles were increased, while they were reduced or altogether removed on others. The law contained, besides, a section which authorized the president to impose duties on articles otherwise free, if they came from foreign countries in which duties were levied on exports from this country. This was known as the "Reciprocity Policy," and was probably suggested by the meeting of the Pan-American Congress. Treaties were afterward made with some of the South American countries, as well as with Spain (in the interest of her American possessions, especially Cuba) under the provisions of this law.

Silver Again. — The advocates of the free coinage of silver, not satisfied with the Bland Bill (§ 639), continued to demand legislation in favor of "the white metal." The result was a compromise called the Sherman Act, from Senator John Sherman of Ohio. It provided that the secretary of the treasury should buy 4,500,000 ounces of silver monthly, and pay for it in treasury notes.

¹ Hon. William H. McKinley, member of Congress from Ohio.

675. Diplomatic Troubles.— President Harrison's administration was noted for an unusual number of disputes with foreign powers. None of them, however, led to an actual conflict of arms.

The Mafia.— One of these disputes was with Italy. It resulted from a lynching in New Orleans. The chief of police of that city was assassinated, and the evidence pointed pretty conclusively to some resident Italians who were members of a dangerous secret society called the Mafia. As the courts failed to convict the murderers, the indignant citizens broke into the jail where they were still confined, and put them to death. The Italian government protested and demanded reparation of the United States, on the ground that some of the men killed were Italian subjects. The secretary of state, on behalf of the United States, disclaimed responsibility, and war seemed imminent. Our government agreed at last to pay a money compensation to the families of some of the victims, and Italy accepted the situation.

Samoa.— Germany claimed special control over the Samoan Islands in the Pacific Ocean. The claim was disputed by the United States, and matters looked serious for a while. The question was settled by a treaty signed at Berlin, providing that England, Germany, and the United States should have joint control of these islands.

Chili.— Our country was brought to the verge of a war with Chili in 1891. The trouble resulted from the murder of some sailors belonging to the warship Baltimore, who had gone ashore at Valparaiso. They were attacked in the streets by a mob, and two of them were killed. Chili finally disavowed the deed, and agreed to pay damages to the United States.

676. New War-ships.— One important result of these incidents was that attention was directed to the weakness of our

navy in comparison with the navies of the other great nations. Steps were at once taken to remedy the weakness. Liberal



The Flag-ship Chicago.

appropriations were made, and contracts were let for the construction of a number of first-class war-ships.

677. Minor Events.— *Oklahoma*, a district in the heart of the Indian Territory, covering nearly 40,000 square miles, was opened to settlement in 1889. This gave 10,000 new

homesteads, and the struggle to get them, was highly exciting. Such was the rush of people to the new territory that the population in 1890 was over 60,000, and in 1894 it was 250,000.

Johnstown is a busy manufacturing city situated on the Conemaugh river, in central Pennsylvania. On May 13, 1889, the people of this little city were terrified by the awful sight of a column of water forty feet deep and half a mile wide rolling madly down the valley to where the town lay. A dam had broken on the heights above, and the flood rushed down so swiftly that an express train could not escape it. More than 2,000 people perished, and \$10,000,000 worth of property was destroyed.

678. New States.—Four new states were admitted in 1889, the law providing for their admission having been passed in 1888. These were North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington. Idaho and Wyoming were admitted in 1890. The number of stars in the American flag was raised from 38 to 44 in President Harrison's administration.

679. Hawaii.—Early in 1893 a revolution occurred in Hawaii. The queen had proclaimed a constitution which was adverse to the interests of the large number of foreign residents of the island. A mass meeting was held, the queen and her constitution were denounced, and the protection of the United States was invoked. A body of soldiers from an American war-ship was landed, the queen was deposed, and a provisional government was organized. Commissioners were sent on to Washington to negotiate a treaty of annexation with the United States. President Harrison entered into a treaty and sent it to the Senate for confirmation shortly before the expiration of his term. The treaty was withdrawn by President Cleveland two days after his inauguration and nothing further has been done toward annexation.

680. The Eleventh Census was taken in 1890 and showed a population of 62,622,250, a gain of about 25 per cent in ten years. The census showed that the South had made wonderful progress during the decade. The center of population was found to have moved forty-eight miles westward; it is located in Indiana, twenty miles east of Columbus.

681. Election of 1893. — The Republicans renominated President Harrison, and put Whitelaw Reed of New York on the ticket for vice-president. Grover Cleveland was again nominated by the Democrats with Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois as the candidate for vice-president. The only important difference in the platforms of the Democrats and Republicans was the tariff plank. The Democrats demanded "a tariff for revenue only" while the Republicans upheld the McKinley Bill and advocated "protection for protection's sake."

The People's Party or "Populists"¹ nominated for president James B. Weaver of Iowa, who had been the candidate of the Greenbackers in 1880, and General James G. Field of Virginia for vice-president. The Prohibitionists nominated John Bidwell of California for president, and Rev. J. B. Cranfill of Texas for president and vice-president.

The election resulted in an overwhelming Democratic victory. Cleveland received 277 electoral votes, — Harrison received 145 votes and Weaver 22 votes.

682. Summary. — The Pan-American Congress of representatives of the governments of North, Central, and South America met in Washington for the purpose of cultivating closer intercourse between the nations of

¹ The Populist party has grown up within the past few years. The principal features of its programme or platform are as follows: Protection of labor against capital, free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, loaning of money by the government to its citizens at a nominal rate of interest, an increased currency, government ownership of railroads and telegraphs and opposition to ownership of land by aliens. The party has grown out of the Farmers' Alliance.

America. A high-tariff bill known as the McKinley Bill was passed : also the Sherman Act, providing for the monthly purchase of silver by the government. Members of the Italian Mafia in New Orleans, accused of murder, were lynched by the citizens, resulting in a diplomatic controversy with Italy. It was agreed by treaty that England, Germany, and the United States should have joint control of the Samoan Islands. Threatened war with Chili was averted. The territory of Oklahoma was opened to settlement. North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington were admitted as states. Steps were taken by the authorities of the Hawaiian Islands to secure annexation to the United States. In the presidential election Cleveland was renominated by the Democrats and was elected.

683. Thought Questions. — Which of our presidents were related as father and son? As grandfather and grandson? In what presidential elections has the result turned upon the views of the candidates on certain political questions? In what elections has personal popularity decided the result? What is meant by "the free coinage of silver"?

CLEVELAND'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

1893-

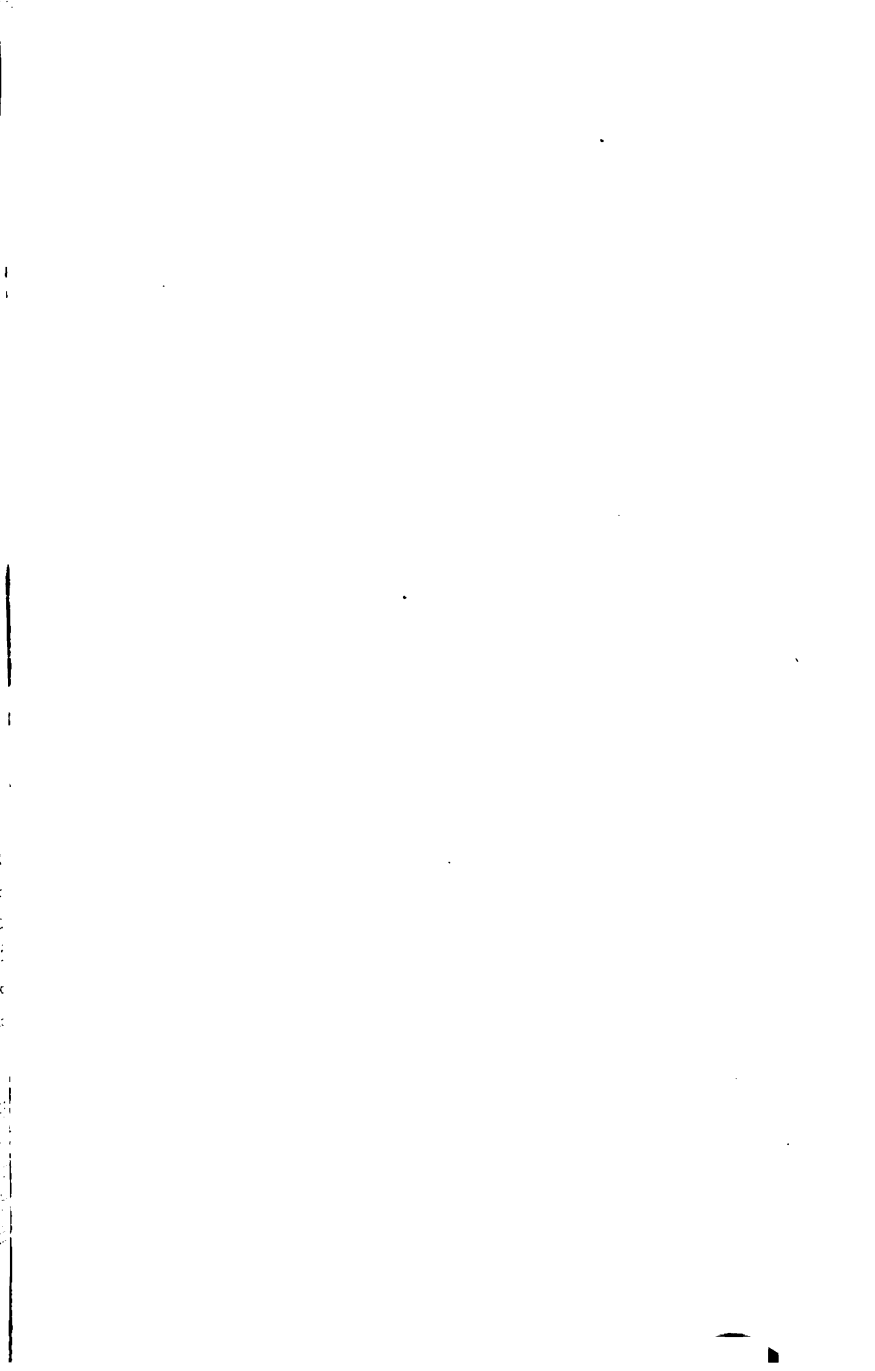
684. The Silver Question Again. — Inasmuch as the issue in the campaign of 1892 between the Democrats and the Republicans had been the reform of the tariff, it was generally expected that the reduction of the duties on imports would be the first matter to receive attention from the new administration. The Democrats, for the first time since Buchanan's administration, held both houses of Congress as well as the presidency and therefore could pass any law on which they agreed. But a very serious financial crisis had begun early in 1893, and it was believed that it was due to the Sherman Act, which compelled the government to buy silver (§ 674). Accordingly, President Cleveland summoned Congress in an extra session in August to repeal this act. After a long wrangle over the matter Congress met the president's wishes and repealed the law and adjourned.

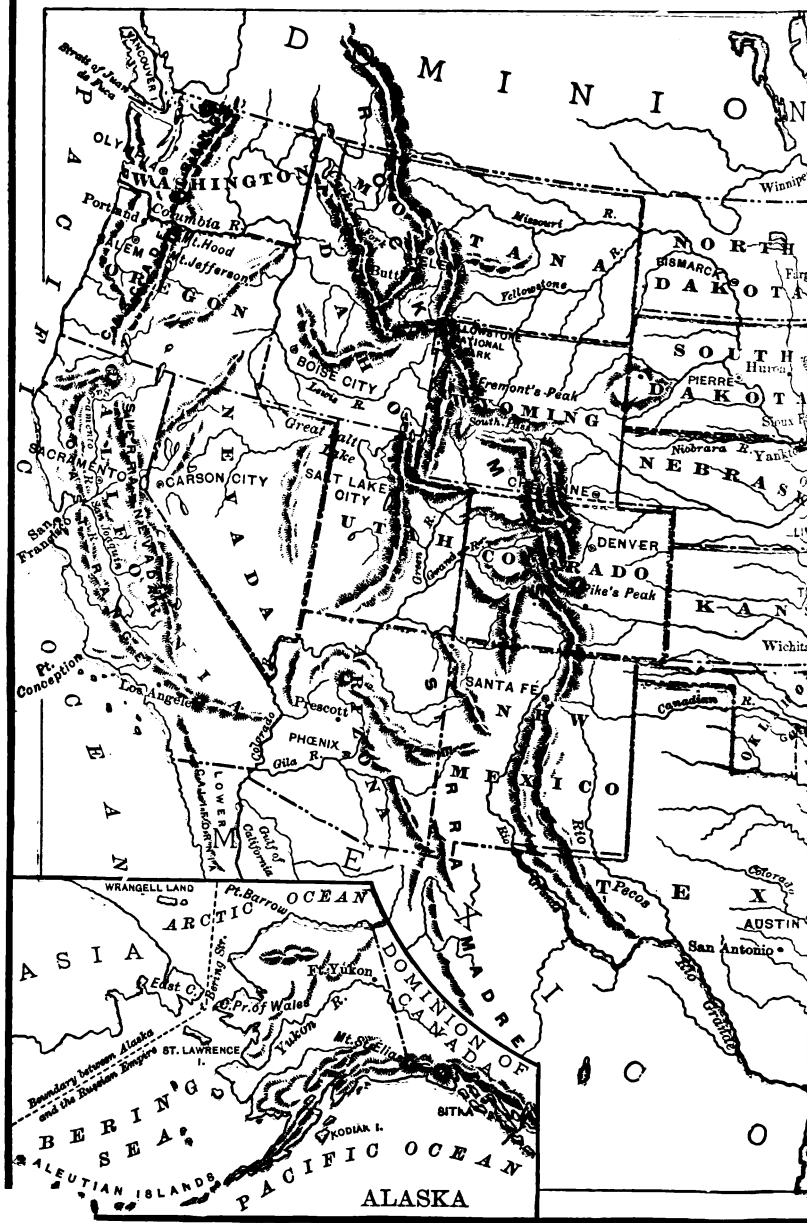
685. The Revision of the Tariff was undertaken at the regular session of Congress in December. The Wilson Bill, named from Mr. Wilson of West Virginia, by whom it was introduced, provided for a sweeping reduction of duties, especially on raw materials to be used in manufactures, and was passed by the House of Representatives. The Senate refused to accept the bill and so changed it by amendments as to make it practically another bill. The House refused for some time to concur in the amendments, but was finally forced to do so or have no bill at all. This division of the Democrats among themselves weakened the hold of the party on public confidence.

686. A New State.—An act was passed by Congress for the admission of Utah as the forty-fifth state.

687. Behring Sea Arbitration.—England and the United States had been quarreling for several years over the seal-fisheries in Behring Sea. Secretary of State Blaine, while Harrison was president, had claimed that the United States had acquired jurisdiction over the whole of the sea when Alaska was purchased, and sealing vessels belonging to Canadians had been seized. England had protested on the ground that the jurisdiction of the United States extended only three miles from the shore. The matter was finally referred to a court of arbitration which met in Paris in 1893. The claim of the United States to the sea was not sustained; but the cause of the claim, the prevention of wholesale destruction of the seals, was won.

688. The Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893 proved to be the grandest World's Fair ever seen. It was a fitting commemoration by the foremost nation in America of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus. "The White City," as the buildings containing the







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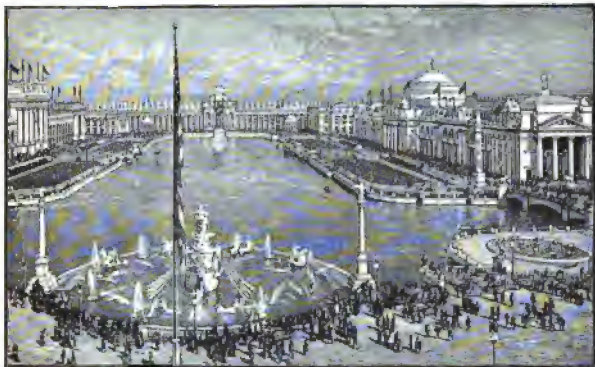
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collections were called, was a marvel of beauty and magnificence.

689. Summary. — For the first time in thirty-three years, the Democratic party controlled both houses of Congress as well as the presidency. The Sherman Act was repealed. The Wilson bill, lowering the tariff, was



Court of Honor, Columbian Exposition.

passed. A quarrel with England over the Behring Sea fisheries was settled by arbitration. The Columbian Exposition in Chicago, commemorating the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America, proved to be the grandest World's Fair ever held.

690. Thought Questions. — What different views are held to-day on the tariff? the immigration question? the silver question? suffrage question? temperance question?

CONCLUSION.

We have traced the history of our country from the dim days of the far past when sea-roving northmen first touched on its shores; we have followed the brave Columbus in his strange voyage over the trackless ocean until he saw the first land of the New World; we have seen how the fair new land became dotted here and there by a few widely separated settlements, dreading wild beasts and wilder men; we have seen the sturdy settlers hew their way amid countless hardships and dangers

to lasting success ; we have seen the straggling colonies grow strong enough to resist the tyrannical demands of the mother country and establish their independence ; we have beheld the novel spectacle of a new form of government created by a written document called a Constitution ; we have followed the wonderful growth of the new nation as it overspread the continent until it reached the Pacific Ocean ;— then we have shown how the differences in development and institutions between the North and South grew into hate and bloodshed ; we have seen the matchless courage and devotion to what they believed to be right of the men who wore the blue and the men who wore the gray ; we have seen how the “ Stars and Stripes ” prevailed over the “ Stars and Bars.”

Our country has entered upon the second century of its independence. Its growth has been the wonder of the world. It has emerged from the War between the States stronger and more closely united. “ The past, at least, is secure.” New perils and problems will arise as conditions change ; but the courage, energy, wisdom, love of justice, and love of country which have animated our fathers may be trusted to guide their sons in the paths of peace and progress.



The Capitol at Washington.

TOPICAL ANALYSIS (RECENT EVENTS).

HAYES'S ADMINISTRATION.

(1877-81.)

- 635. **The New President.**
- 636. **Character of the Period.**
- 637. **The Southern States.** { Withdrawal of Federal troops.
Fall of "carpet-bag" governments.
- 638. **Labor Troubles.**
- 639. **Financial Legislation.** { Silver demonetized.
Specie payments resumed.
National debt refunded.
- 640. **Inventions.** { Telephone.
Electric light.
Phonograph.
- 641. **Yellow Fever in the South.**
- 642. **Presidential Election.**

GARFIELD AND ARTHUR'S ADMINISTRATION.

(1881-85.)

- 645. **Life and Services of Garfield.**
- 646. **Appointments to Office:** Course of New York senators.
- 647. **Assassination of Garfield.**
- 648, 649. **Accession of Arthur:** His life and services.
- 650. **Star Route Frauds.**
- 651. **Polar Expeditions.** { Under Capt. DeLong.
Under Lieut. Greely.
- 652. **Important Legislation.** { Law against polygamy.
Civil service law.
Tariff of 1883.
Postal laws.
- 653. **The Brooklyn Bridge.**
- 654. **Standard Time.**
- 655. **Disasters.** { Forest fires.
Floods.
- 656. **Expositions.** { At Atlanta.
At New Orleans.
Centennial celebration at Yorktown.
- 657. **Cincinnati Riot.**
- 658. **Presidential Election.** { Issues before the people.
Result of the election.

CLEVELAND'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

(1885-89.)

- 661. **The New President.**
- 662. **The President's Policy.**
- 663. **Deaths.** { General Grant.
Vice-President Hendricks.
- 664. **Important Legislation.** { Presidential succession.
Counting of electoral vote.
Interstate Railway Commission.
Anti-polygamy law.
Chinese immigration law.
- 665. **Labor Troubles:** Chicago Anarchists.
- 666. **The Charleston Earthquake.**
- 667. **The Statue of Liberty.** { The givers and their purpose.
Size and location of the statue.
- 668. **Political Questions:** The Mills Tariff Bill.
- 669. **Presidential Election.** { Issues before the people.
Result of the election.

HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

(1889-93.)

- 672. **The New President.**
- 673. **The Pan-American Congress.** { Governments represented.
The meeting and its purpose.
Results.
- 674. **Important Legislation.** { The McKinley Tariff Bill.
The Sherman silver purchasing act.
- 675. **Diplomatic Troubles.** { The New Orleans Mafia.
Dispute over Samoan Islands.
Threatened war with Chili.
- 676. **New War Ships.**
- 677. **Minor Events.** { Oklahoma opened to settlement.
The Johnstown flood.
- 678. **Four New States.**
- 679. **Hawaii.** { Revolution on the Island.
Steps toward annexation.
- 680. **The Eleventh Census:** Growth of the country.
- 681. **The Presidential Election.** { Issues before the people.
Result of the election.

CLEVELAND'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION. (1893-)	{	684. Silver Legislation.	{ Financial crisis. Extra session of Congress. Repeal of Sherman Act.
		685. Revision of the Tariff.	{ The Wilson Bill. Disagreement between Senate and House.
		686. Act to admit Utah.	
		687. Behring Sea Arbitration.	{ Quarrel with England. Settlement of the disputes.
		688. Columbian Exposition.	



APPENDIX A.

AN OUTLINE OF AMERICAN LITERATURE.

BY LEONARD LEMMON.

The "Father of American Literature."—No writings produced from an artistic impulse, and worthy to be called American literature, were produced until after the Revolution was accomplished and the nation was set firmly on its feet.¹ Then the springs from which flow three great streams of literature gurgled up at once, as if Cornwallis's surrender had removed some mighty weight from their fountains. The first of these streams comes from *Washington Irving*, and takes its rise in the humorous Knickerbocker "History of New York" and the Rip Van Winkle and Sleepy Hollow sketches. These productions are based on the colonial history of New Amsterdam and the Hudson, and they treat the subjects from a humorous standpoint and in a remarkably easy, polished style. The author wrote many books besides those named: stories of western travel and adventure, enchanting reproductions of some early passages of Spanish history, lives of Columbus, who discovered America, and of Washington, who saved it to Americans.

The First Great Novelist.—Contemporary with Irving was *James Fenimore Cooper*, who wrote more than thirty volumes of fiction. His "Leather-Stocking" tales are largely responsible for the romantic ideal of the "noble red man"

¹ For statement of character of colonial writings, see §§ 221, 231.

that all boys and many adults accept without question. His sea tales, besides their interesting, sometimes thrilling movements, show a great familiarity with ocean life, and became so popular that they set a new fashion in fiction that has been followed more or less successfully in many quarters of the world since his day. Cooper chose a distinctively American theme in the Indian, and in reproducing his habits and social life many opportunities were afforded for describing the wilderness where he was so much at home; and the physical features of New York are so faithfully described in the novels that one knows Cooper to have explored the wilderness with a patience and affection rivaling the Indian's own.

The Father of American Poetry. — "Thanatopsis," the first great American poem, appeared in 1817, eight years after Irving's "Knickerbocker," and three years before Cooper's "Precaution." Though its author, *William Cullen Bryant*, wrote many poems afterwards, he never wrote a better one. His subjects are taken from nature, and are treated in a serene, majestic, somewhat depressing way. He was for many years the editor of a daily paper in New York; and because of his high political ideals, his honorable life, and his noble literary genius he was honored as one of the first of America's citizens.

Minor Contemporaries. — Friends of Irving's in New York were two poets, *Fitz-Greene Halleck* and *Joseph Rodman Drake*. The first was the author of a large volume of poems of which "Marco Bozzaris" seems to have the most vitality; the second was the author of a long poem, "The Culprit Fay," written to prove that a successful poem, based on American scenery, and with an American movement, was possible; and the short patriotic lyric, "The American Flag."

A Later Contemporary. — *Edgar Allan Poe* was born twenty-six years after Irving and fifteen years after Bryant, but Irving survived him ten years, and Bryant twenty-nine ; so that all his writing was done during the lives of these first great writers, though they began before he did and continued after he was dead. His work possesses many singular characteristics. He is the author of two of the most popular American poems and of many short stories, at least one of which, "The Black Cat," is famous wherever literature is studied. His work shows the skill of a consummate artist ; it springs from the head and has little heart in it. He was a master of melody ; "The Raven" and "The Bells" have little else to commend them than their perfect structure, one of them being a descriptive poem and the other having little significance. In his prose tales, which deal with the ghastly and horrible, or with the curious and singular, he knows just how much to say and the best manner of saying it in order to produce the desired impression. But his work is in producing impressions ; he does not stimulate or inspire ; he simply produces a picture that you must acknowledge to be perfect in all the details of the horrible or fantastic according to his design in producing it.

Nathaniel Parker Willis was a contemporary and friend of Poe, and was engaged with him for a short time in editing a magazine. Willis, like Poe, wrote both prose and poetry. But his work was conventional in themes and treatment, and bears no qualities to save it from oblivion. "Absalom," "Jephthá's Daughter," and some other poems on Bible subjects were once popular.

The Golden Age. — In different states and at about the same time — there being not more than six years from the birth of the oldest to that of the youngest — and about a decade after Bryant's birth, five writers who have produced

the great body of our pure literature and have raised it to its highest mark of renown were born into the world. These writers are *Ralph Waldo Emerson*, *Nathaniel Hawthorne*, *Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, *John Greenleaf Whittier*, and *Oliver Wendell Holmes*. Fortune often threw these writers together. They were strong personal friends, and all friends of Bryant, and encouraged and applauded each other's work. They differ essentially in their several outputs. Emerson was a sage devoted to plain living and high thinking; Hawthorne was one of the world's greatest romancers; Longfellow was a singer, who loved the sweet and joyous of life; Whittier was by turns a crusader and a pastoral poet; Holmes was a humorist and satirist. When these writers were in the fullness of their powers and their genius most creative, then, beyond question, was the Golden Age of American letters. There have been great achievements since their time, but the literary heavens have never been bright with stars since their lights were dimmed.

The Sage of Concord. — *Emerson* was the philosopher in literature; he was a thinker with an artistic temperament. He loved striking thoughts, and loved to say them strikingly. The dull processes of the careful syllogism were distasteful to him; he startled you with his conclusions derived without the intervention of the preliminary argument. He arrives at truth by intuition; if you have insight and imagination so that you can see truth at a glance, he comes to you with stimulating and powerful gospel; if the structure of your mind is such that you can grasp truth only by induction, you will question and go away without profit. As an essayist, he is unique in English literature; his subjects are always abstract, and nothing interests him but their spiritual relations; he expresses our highest ideals, our most sacred sentiments, our deepest religious longings.

He published several series of essays and a volume of poetry. His poetry is not remarkable for music or melody, though there are passages that are notable in this way; they are packed with thought; they spread the pinions of the soul, and soar straight to the heaven of righteousness.

The influence of Emerson's utterances was so strong that disciples grew up around him or made pilgrimages to him, so that Concord became the Mecca of the Transcendentalists, and Emerson its prophet. The closest and best known of these disciples is the literary naturalist, *H. D. Thoreau*. He lived for a time in a cabin in the forest, studying nature some — studying more how to say something striking about her. A generous interpretation has pronounced *A. B. Alcott* and *Margaret Fuller* Transcendentalists and Emersonians, but their claims to any kind of distinction rest on very slender literary achievement.

The Great Romancer. — *Nathaniel Hawthorne's* genius was highly original. No one has equalled him in probing the mysterious depths of the human heart. His work is deeply psychological, deeply ethical. He deals with primal sins, with profound expiation, with the elemental problems of human life. He uses, generally, a New England setting, but the life he sees is typical, his treatment symbolic. He was a master of pure simple English; he was able to express easily and accurately the most delicate shades of thought. He was a great artist; the reader finds a keen delight in following him; his work, finished, perfect, exquisite, seems to spring up spontaneously, with as little labor or effort as the lilies of the field. His "Twice Told Tales" won him his first recognition, "The Scarlet Letter" is best known; he is the author of several "Note Books," records of his observations in foreign countries, and of several fragmentary romances published posthumously.

The Singer. — *Longfellow* was a friend of Hawthorne, and was the first prominent man of letters to see and commend to the public the rare beauty and power of his friend's work. He is the most beloved of our poets. His thoughts are pure and sweet and clear and not too deep; they flow in musical verse showing the graces of the natural singer. He is the poet of sentiment — of natural, wholesome sentiment that never degenerates into sentimentalism. The domestic affections claim much of the attention of his muse. He sings of the simple pleasures of the hearthstone, of the tender affection for little children. Some of his best known poems are gently didactic, preparing us to meet misfortunes with sweet-tempered resignation, or urging us to struggle nobly upward. He is the author of two of our most charming idyls, "Evangeline" and "The Courtship of Miles Standish," founded upon Acadian and Puritan life respectively. His "Hiawatha" is our nearest approach to an American epic.

The Crusader. — *Whittier's* early poetry was reform poetry in which the artistic requirements often give way to the necessities of the cause he agitates. He was a violent Abolitionist and a large part of his poetry is devoted to a recital of the slaves' wrongs and the "proud Southron's" cruelty. But when emancipation came, the fierceness of this crusader disappeared; his style became quiet and sweet and his poetry was ever afterward characterized by a beautiful serenity of spirit. "Snow-Bound" is one of the most nearly perfect idyls in our language. "The Tent on the Beach," "Among the Hills" and many shorter poems reflect the same love for simple, serene, isolated life. And, indeed, he is distinctly the poet of the rural people, — people of simple habits, simple morals, and simple thoughts.

The Humorist. — *Dr. Holmes* was often called the poet-laureate of America. He read poems before literary and agricultural societies; for anniversaries or centennials of public or private institutions; at festivals, fairs, or banquets; at dinners for soldiers, statesmen, scholars, authors, or representatives of royalty; for medical and sanitary associations; for dedication services of monuments, halls, churches, and cemeteries, — for every variety of public celebration. He represented America upon so many characteristic occasions that he became identified with our public life and thought in a semi-official way that won him the voluntary distinction conferred by legal process in our mother country.

But not all of his poems are of this public and laudatory nature. He is the author of two or three of our most celebrated humorous poems; and he has written some short poems on pathetic themes that are perfect in workmanship and sentiment. Nor has his work been confined to poetry; the vivacity, piquancy, and good sense of his running comments on living topics have made the "Breakfast Table" series ("The Autocrat," "The Poet," and "The Professor") the most popular one of its kind ever published.

Who shall represent Columbia? — About a decade later than these great patriarchs came two poets of widely dissimilar characteristics, one clamorously claiming to be the poet of Democracy, the other, modest, well-balanced, many-sided, is the truest representative that has yet appeared of that part of Democracy that has found its home in America.

Walt Whitman, since the publication of "Leaves of Grass," has been the most bitterly condemned and the most ably defended of American poets. He says, "Singing in the West I strike up for a New World"; that he will "shake out carols stronger and haughtier than have ever yet been heard upon earth," and, "I celebrate myself and sing myself,"

because he thinks himself the type. He does not satisfy us, however, that he is the type. He is abnormally self-conscious and egotistic, hence it is impossible that he should faithfully represent the natural, spontaneous man, who is specifically an American. Neither does he convince us that he is the true prophet of the American Democracy. Intellectually, he is not equal to his self-imposed mission. His emotions are stronger than his theories. In consciously striking up in a new way for a new world, a poet, to be successful, must be a votary of abstract thought, must first of all be a philosopher, but Whitman's personality dominates his book.

James Russell Lowell is our best representative. He is catholic and independent. He loves the natural man; he sees through shams; he knows the vanity of conventionalities; he is not awed by ceremonies. His poetry springs from the natural, primal traits of a manly character. He loves the common people, believes them to be the salt of the earth, and thinks the domestic and civic virtues spring from their humble and simple conditions. He is self-reliant and original. His humor is constitutional. He expresses a wholesome optimism. He has studied the past but his eyes are turned to the future. He believes that the United States has tried the most important experiment a nation can try, and that she has been successful in securing that perfect liberty of citizenship to which the citizens of all nations aspire.

The Historians. — America has been too busy making history to write much of it; still we have something to show. *George Bancroft's* "History of the United States" is the best that has been written of the colonial development of our country. It shows the origin and the working of the forces that have made us the nation that we are. It reaches

only to the constitutional period. It is conscientious, fair, and broad. *Professor John Bach McMaster* has begun a "History of the People of the United States" at the point where Bancroft dropped his. Not much of it has appeared, to this date, so that no fair estimate of it can now be formed. A number of writers on the Civil War have put forth pamphlets or ambitious volumes. *Horace Greeley's* "Great American Conflict" is a notable contribution to the anti-slavery view of it. *Alexander H. Stephens*, in "The War between the States" discusses the same subject from the states' rights point of view. *Jefferson Davis*, in his "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government," gives a full account of the great event in which he played such a conspicuous part. *W. H. Prescott*, in his "Conquest of Mexico" and his "Conquest of Peru," turns the attention of Americans to some of the earliest European interferences with political affairs on this hemisphere. *John Lothrop Motley*, from the vantage-ground of free America, writes histories of magnificent struggles for freedom in "The Rise of the Dutch Republic" and "The History of the United Netherlands."

The Later Literature of the East.—The stream of our literature, whose course we have traced from its obscure sources, in later years has swelled into a flood and spread out over the country, but at the sacrifice of both depth and strength of current, showing many shallow places. The difference is most noticeable in poetry. Some exquisite verse has appeared here and there, some ambitious themes have been selected and executed with more or less artistic power; but no poet showing a quality and an achievement equal to any of the great poets mentioned has appeared or given promise of his appearance in these times. In the eastern states *Bayard Taylor* shows the best achievement for this period. His "Poems of the Orient" are rich in the

warm colors, and throb with the intense passion, of the East. His lyrics are strong and genuine; his odes are well executed, though not notable. His "Lars: a Pastoral of Norway," compares, probably, with some of our best work of this kind. He is the author of a masque and two lyrical dramas. "Prince Deukalion," one of these dramas, is fashioned after the ancient classical models, and is rich in lyrical measures. *Thomas Bailey Aldrich* is the most exquisite of our lyric poets. His verse is of the simple and apparently spontaneous kind that requires so much art in the writing and reads so easily and musically that it sings itself into the memory at once.

But the largest part of the writing of this time is fiction. Novels with all sorts of themes, from all sorts of people, are being continually issued. Even schisms have arisen, and writers profess themselves of this or that "school."

The so-called "Realists," represented by *Henry James* and *W. D. Howells*, say that they, and they only, represent life as it is, and that fiction, in order to be useful, must set itself this task. They do not seek to elevate but to portray; they do not run, they simply mark the race. In their pages we find no illusions, no impossible ideals, no hint of lofty aspirations. The life they represent is coarse and sordid or fashionable and frivolous. Of the two writers James has the sharper perceptions, the keener analysis, the more cultivated intellect, the more pointed style. He usually takes up his pen to contrast the conventional manners and customs of the people of different countries; he has developed what is known as the "International" novel. Howells has the richer temperament; his motions cut some figure in his work; he has a bias that can be detected. He is interested to show the habits and motions of the "common people." But the common people, as he sees them, are dull and despicable; they are ambitious only to grow rich;

they toil for social recognition; they show no hint of the higher nature that aspires and hopes and strives for the ideal good.

In most pronounced contrast to the work of the "Realists" stands the work of *Julian Hawthorne*. He appeals to the imagination; he does not make you a neutral photograph, he paints you a portrait in burning colors. He is not concerned with manners, customs, or conventionalities; he seeks the higher nature, the spiritual tragedies, for the testimony that man is divine, that he is a witness of God. He is a pronounced optimist; with Emerson he says "hitch your wagon to a star."

Frank R. Stockton, though he affects the plausible manner of the Realists, presents, really, a perverted supernatural world. He suspends gravitation; he brings ghosts back to earth, and gives them local habitations, names, purposes, and prejudices; he disembodies and reëmbodies a spirit at will, according to the necessities of an uncanny plot. He is a humorist with a highly original imagination.

The Beginning in the West. — The West was necessarily late in adding anything to our literature; but its beginning, when at last the hour arrived, was notable. Its first authors extended their local reputations to the East, and, for various reasons, are conspicuous among the American authors known in Europe. The West possesses a worthy poet in *Joaquin Miller*. He loves her vast solitudes, her virgin forests, her rugged sierras; he professes himself, and is, indeed, a sympathetic child of this wild region. His poems express fire and passion, and unbounded self-confidence; they show a free spirit untrammelled by convention or tradition. They are musical and eloquent, often dramatic.

Bret Harte shares with Miller the honor and profit of revealing the West to the East. He writes from a different

standpoint: Miller is always serious, often passionate; Harte is always light, piquant, brilliant, somewhat theatrical. Harte is, himself, sophisticated; he knows the world's standards; his novels represent the lawless, outcast characters of mining and logging camps, and represent them in such a way as to make their outbreaks contrast most strongly with the snug proprieties of conventional life. His mining sketches are among the most attractive short stories in our language.

Mark Twain is the humorist of this same section. His "Roughing It" and many short sketches show the laughable side of life in the mining regions.

Edward Eggleston, in his "Hoosier Schoolmaster," "The Circuit Rider," "Roxey," "The Graysons," etc., gives us a portrayal of pioneer life in Indiana and Illinois faithful to the minutest detail.

"The Renewal" in the South.—The first poet in the South in point of time and in fame is Poe, already noticed. Contemporary with him, and living many years after his death, was the South's most assiduous man of letters in the period preceding the war; namely, *William Gilmore Simms*. He edited Shakespeare, printed political articles, prepared histories, biographies, and criticisms, and wrote a number of novels of adventure with the scenes laid in the Southern states and the motives founded on the traditions or history of the same region. *John Esten Cooke*, in Virginia, published before the war "The Virginia Comedians," a novel depicting the ante-bellum life of the Southern planter. *Henry Timrod*, a South Carolina poet who wrote warm, vivid verse, contributed to the *Southern Literary Messenger*, of which Poe was, at one time, editor. With the exception of the pathetic poems of *Father Ryan*, the Laureate of the Lost Cause, and occasional war lyrics from *Paul Hamilton Hayne*, who had

previously published some noble poems, and Cooke's account of the great struggle, the war silenced all voices in the South. The singer was too sad to sing; the dramatist, torn and bleeding, had no heart for mimic tragedy; the novelist was overwhelmed with a calamity in real life. But the South is full of color; it is bright with a charming colonial history; it is peopled with the descendants of picturesque races; eloquence and poetry are natural to it: in the fullness of time this desolated Eden began to blossom again. The greatest poet in the South in recent years, and one of the most original America has produced, is the Georgia poet, *Sidney Lanier*. He made an exhaustive study of the structure of English verse, and elaborated a new theory as to its construction. He was a critic who applied fundamental tests with great keenness. No American poet has excelled him in melody, — comparing total products, no one has equalled him. His "Song of the Chattahoochie" is as musical as Tennyson's "Brook." Many English critics think him our greatest artist; his own countrymen — except here and there — have not found him out yet; but his day will come. Still younger poets are *Willie Hayne* and *Robert Burns Wilson*, who are just beginning to try their voices.

In fiction, some strong work is being done. The warm color of the South glows in the pages of *George W. Cable*. Our later fiction has nothing more eloquent and poetic to show than some of the passages of his stories. *Miss Murfree* gives us intense tragedies from the Tennessee mountains. *Joel Chandler Harris* finds some recompense for the negro who has cost the South so much in the fables that spring from his simple, credulous, and sometimes poetic imagination.



APPENDIX B.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

PREAMBLE.

WE, the people of the United States,¹ in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.—LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

SECTION I.—CONGRESS.

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

¹ As originally adopted by the convention, this clause began with the words, "We, the people of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island . . .," etc., naming each of the thirteen. But as it was agreed that only *nine* states ratifying should be sufficient to establish the Constitution between themselves, and as it was impossible to foretell which states would compose the number ratifying, the language of the preamble was changed to a general term to include the people of such states as should favor the new government.

The Articles of Confederation were established by the states, acting in most instances through their *Legislatures*; the Constitution was established by the states, acting in all cases through *conventions of their people*.

SECTION 2. — HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors¹ in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors¹ of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers,² which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.³ The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative: and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, one; Connecticut, five; New York, six; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; and Georgia, three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority⁴ thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

¹ "Electors," meaning voters. Persons whom a state permits to vote for representatives in the lower House of its Legislature are here given the right to vote for representatives in Congress.

² At present (1895) there is one representative for every 173,901 persons.

³ "Persons" here means slaves. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments annul this provision.

⁴ Governor.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers ; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION 3. — SENATE.

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years ; and each senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year ; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year ; of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year ; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive⁴ thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice-President of the United States shall be president of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments : When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation.

When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief-Justice shall preside : and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

⁴ Governor.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States ; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

Judgment
in Case of
Conviction.

SECTION 4. — BOTH HOUSES.

The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof ; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.¹

Manner of
Electing
Members.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Meetings of
Congress.

SECTION 5. — THE HOUSES SEPARATELY.

Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business ; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

Organization.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Rules.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Journal.

¹ Otherwise, Congress would have power to fix the places of meeting of state legislatures.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. — PRIVILEGES AND DISABILITIES OF MEMBERS.

The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation¹ for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECTION 7. — METHOD OF PASSING LAWS.

All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall

¹ \$5000 a year, and twenty cents for every mile traveled by direct route to and from the capital.

agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Resolutions,
etc.

SECTION 8. — POWERS GRANTED TO CONGRESS.

The Congress shall have power:

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

Powers of
Congress.

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish a uniform rule of naturalization,¹ and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

¹ The legal process by which a foreigner becomes entitled to the rights and privileges of a citizen of the United States.

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States ;

To establish post-offices and post-roads ;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries ;¹

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court ;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations ;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal,² and make rules concerning captures on land and water ;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years ;

To provide and maintain a navy ;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces ;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions.

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress ;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings ; — And

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Implied
Powers.

¹ Authors secure "copyrights" on their writings ; inventors, "patents" on their inventions.

² Letters granted by the government to private citizens in time of war, authorizing them, under certain conditions, to capture the enemy's ships.

SECTION 9. — POWERS FORBIDDEN TO THE UNITED STATES.

The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.¹

Absolute
Prohibitions
on Congress.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus² shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder³ or ex-post-facto law⁴ shall be passed.

No capitation⁵ or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another ; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law ; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States : And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

¹ "Persons" meaning *slaves*; in 1808 Congress prohibited the importation of slaves.

² An official document requiring an accused person who has been imprisoned awaiting trial to be brought before a judge to inquire whether he may be legally held.

³ An act of a legislative body inflicting the death penalty without trial.

⁴ A law relating to the punishment of acts committed before the law was passed.

⁵ Capitation tax, *poll tax*.

SECTION 10. — POWERS FORBIDDEN TO THE STATES.

Absolute Prohibitions on the States. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation ; grant letters of marque and reprisal ; coin money ; emit bills of credit ; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts ; pass any bill of attainder, ex-post-facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

Conditional Prohibitions on the States. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws ; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States ; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships-of-war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II. — EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

SECTION I. — PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT.

Term. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows :

Electors. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress : but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[¹ The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall, in like manner, choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.]

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.²

No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have

¹ This paragraph in brackets has been superseded by the Twelfth Amendment.

² The electors are chosen on the Tuesday following the first Monday in November, next before the expiration of a presidential term. They vote (by Act of Congress of Feb. 3, 1887) on the second Monday in January following, for President and Vice-President. The votes are counted, and declared in Congress on the second Wednesday of the next February.

attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President,
Vacancy. and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President; and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation¹ which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he
Salary. shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: — “I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of
Oath. the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

SECTION 2. — POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT.

The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he
Military Powers. may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the
Treaties. advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court,

¹ The President now receives \$50,000 a year; the Vice-President, \$8000

and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law : but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3. — DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT.

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient ; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper ; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers ; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. — IMPEACHMENT.

The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.—JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

SECTION 1.—UNITED STATES COURTS.

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation¹ which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Courts
Established.
Judges.

SECTION 2.—JURISDICTION OF UNITED STATES COURTS.

The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority;—to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls;—to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;—to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;—to controversies between two or more States;—between a State and citizens of another State;²—between citizens of different States;—between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

Federal
Courts in
General.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

Supreme
Court.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Trials.

¹ The chief justice of the Supreme Court receives \$10,500 a year: the associate justices, \$10,000.

² But compare Amendment XI.

SECTION 3. — TREASON.

Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying
 Treason Defined. war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving
 them aid and comfort.

No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony
 of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of
 Punishment. treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corrup-
 tion of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the
 person attainted.

ARTICLE IV. — RELATIONS OF THE STATES TO
EACH OTHER.

SECTION 1. — OFFICIAL ACTS.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts,
 records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the
 Congress may by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such
 acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION 2. — PRIVILEGES OF CITIZENS.

The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and
 immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime,
 who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on
 Fugitives demand of the executive authority of the State from
 from Justice. which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the
 State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person¹ held to service or labor in one State, under the laws
 thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or
 Fugitive regulation therein, be discharged from such service or
 Slaves. labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to
 whom such service or labor may be due.

¹ "Person" here includes *slave*. This was the basis of the Fugitive-Slave Law. It
 is now superseded by Amendment XIII.

SECTION 3. — NEW STATES AND TERRITORIES.

New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union ; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State ; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States ; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4. — PROTECTION OF THE STATES.

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V. — AMENDMENTS.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress ; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article ; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI. — GENERAL PROVISIONS.

All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof ; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land ; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution ; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII. — RATIFICATION OF THE
CONSTITUTION.

The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President, and Deputy from Virginia.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.	PENNSYLVANIA.	VIRGINIA.
JOHN LANGDON, NICHOLAS GILMAN.	BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, THOMAS MIFFLIN, ROBERT MORRIS, GEORGE CLYMER, THOMAS FITZSIMONS, JARED INGERSOLL, JAMES WILSON, GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.	JOHN BLAIR, JAMES MADISON, JR.
MASSACHUSETTS.		NORTH CAROLINA.
NATHANIEL GORHAM, RUFUS KING.		WILLIAM BLOUNT, RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT, HUGH WILLIAMSON.
CONNECTICUT.	DELAWARE.	SOUTH CAROLINA.
WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON, ROGER SHERMAN.	GEORGE READ, GUNNING BEDFORD, JR., JOHN DICKINSON, RICHARD BASSETT, JACOB BROOM.	JOHN RUTLEDGE, CHARLES C. PINCKNEY, CHARLES PINCKNEY, PIERCE BUTLER.
NEW YORK.	MARYLAND.	GEORGIA.
ALEXANDER HAMILTON.	JAMES M'HENRY, DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS JENIFER, DANIEL CARROLL.	WILLIAM FEW, ABRAHAM BALDWIN.
NEW JERSEY.		
WILLIAM LIVINGSTON, DAVID BREARLEY, WILLIAM PATERSON, JONATHAN DAYTON.		

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

AMENDMENTS.

ARTICLE I.¹—Congress shall make no law respecting an estab-
Religion, lishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise
Speech, Press, thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the
Assembly, press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble,
Petition. and to petition the government for redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.—A well-regulated militia being necessary to the
Militia. security of a free State the right of the people to keep and
bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.—No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered
Soldiers. in any house, without the consent of the owner; nor in
time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

¹ The first ten amendments were proposed by Congress in 1789, and adopted in 1791. They are often called the Bill of Rights, and they are intended to guard more efficiently the rights of the people and of the states. See § 339.

ARTICLE IV. — The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V. — No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war and public danger ; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb ; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor to be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law ; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI. — In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation ; to be confronted with the witnesses against him ; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII. — In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reëxamined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of common law.

ARTICLE VIII. — Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX. — The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X. — The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Judicial Power Granted. ARTICLE XI.¹ — The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against any of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

Method of electing President and Vice-President. ARTICLE XII.² — The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate; — the president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; — the person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the

¹ Proposed in 1794; adopted 1798.

² Adopted 1804.

list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.¹ — *Section 1.* Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.² — *Section 1.* All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive or judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President or Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as

¹ Adopted 1865.

² Adopted 1868.

an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

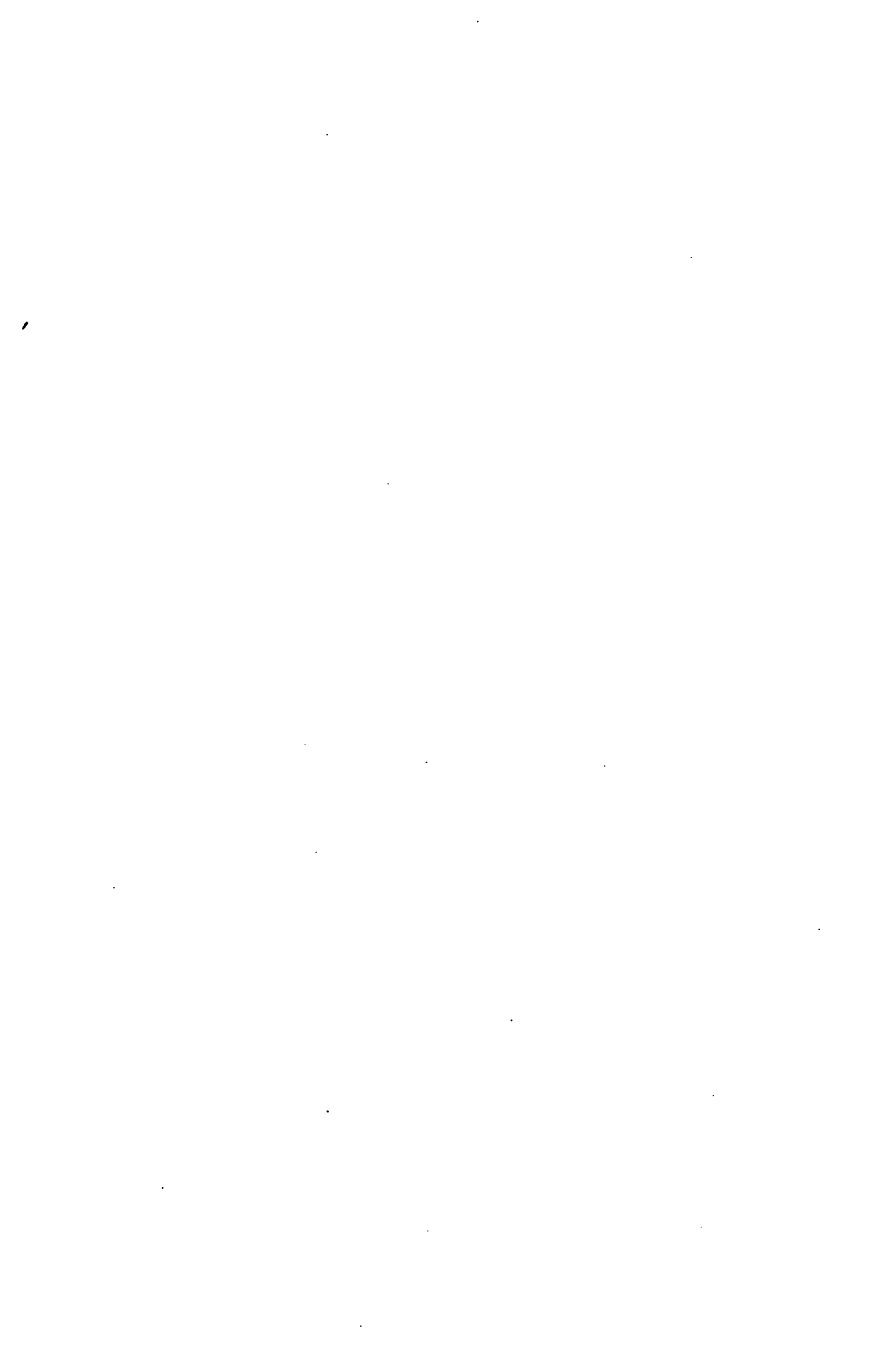
Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave ; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.¹ — *Section 1.* The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the
Negroes
Made Voters. United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

¹ Adopted 1870.



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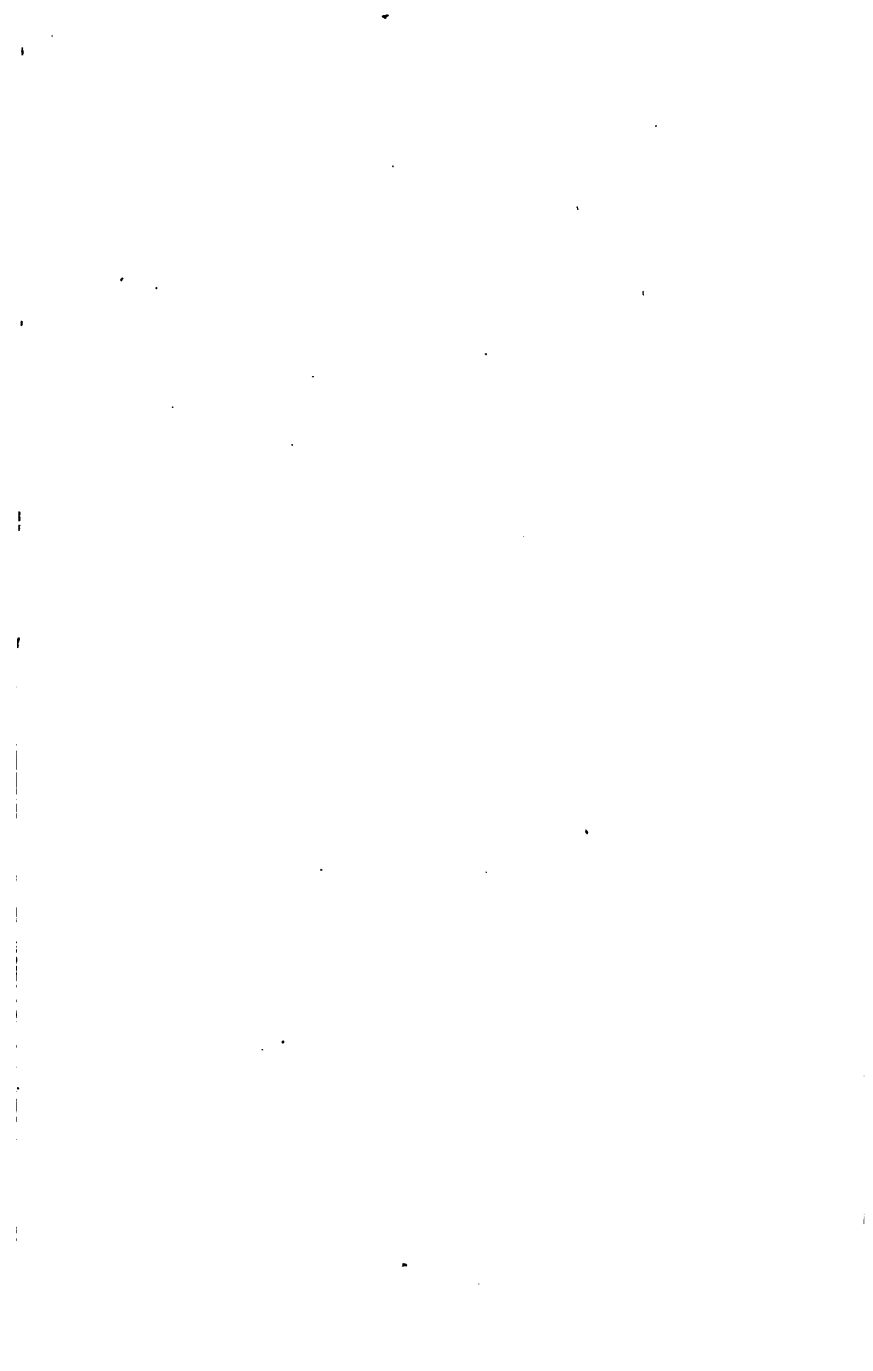
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